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ABOUT THOSE WHO ARE AGAINST PEACE

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ABOUT THOSE WHO ARE AGAINST PEACE
(O Tekh, Kto Protiv Mira)

(Articles, Sketches, Pamphlets)

TRANSLATION NOTE

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* * *

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(O Tekh, Kto Protiv Mira)

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Unmask the Forces of War -- Aid the Cause of Peace

Millions of people all over the world are asking: Is it possible to avert war, to avoid the spilling of blood, the destruction of enormous material, spiritual and cultural values accumulated by the labor of many generations:

The Soviet Union gives a direct answer to this question: Yes, there is such a possibility. It is based on the Leninist principle of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social and political systems, which is the foundation of the foreign policy of the Soviet state.

The Leninist idea of peaceful coexistence and cooperation between states is winning more and more supporters. In the capitalist world it is supported not only by the toilers, on whom is laid all the burden of war, but also the most sober circles of the national bourgeoisie who understand what a mortal danger a new war offers for them.

The idea of peaceful coexistence is rejected only by the monopolistic circles of the U. S. and their allies. In the chase after profit which presages new bloody conflicts, these monopolistic circles strive to hinder the development of cooperation between peoples, to hinder reduction of tension in international relations. Enriching themselves in the arms race, they do not even want to hear about banning atomic and other types of weapons of mass destruction, about the reduction of armed forces.

Hatching aggressive plans, the imperialist organizers of bloody wars and conflicts count on the peoples not rendering serious resistance to them. But the times when the peoples looked upon war as an inevitable evil have vanished eternally. The peoples have acquired enormous political experience. They no longer want to make sacrifices for the sake of the enrichment of a clique of magnates of capital.

The movement of fighters for peace is placing a mighty obstacle in the path of the warmongers. This movement is achieving newer and newer victories, is drawing into its ranks millions of peace partisans in all countries.

The unmasking of the aggressive policy of the imperialist powers, and above all, the American imperialism, has great significance in this struggle. To show the roots of this policy, to reveal its moving forces, to show those to whom a war is necessary and who are preparing it -- this is the goal which the publishing house placed before itself in publishing the present collection.

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The facts cited in the book are taken from varied international life. All of them were cited in the foreign press. These facts confirm the depth of the danger which the aggressive policy of the imperialists of the U. S., England, France, and other assistants of American imperialism reprints. The articles, essays, and pamphlets cited show the power of the monopolies and their responsibility for the policy of unleashing war.

A number of articles, essays, and pamphlets depict the antipopular activity of the most notorious, most typical servants of monopolistic capital.

The striving of US monopolies to hide their activity from the masses, the severe, if unseen, censorship, limits the factual material at the disposal of the authors. Many facts are still unknown. But even those materials which are cited in the collection make it possible for the reader to obtain an answer to the question of who is against peace, who is preparing a new imperialist war.

USA

"They speak pompous words about a 'sacred struggle for independence' of the peoples, and they themselves, in a cold-blooded way, play with the lives of millions, pushing the peoples into war for the sake of profits of a clique of merchants and industrialists." -- V. I. Lenin

"Capitalists of all countries are an identically repulsive and inhuman tribe, but -- yours are the worst." -- M. Gorkiy, "Answer to an Inquiry of an American Journal"

The Staffs of the American Plutocracy

D. Asanov

...December 1952. In one of the most fashionable hotels in New York there is being held a regular annual congress of the association of American factory and plant owners -- the National Association of Manufacturers (NAM). While the delegates of the congress -- solid businessmen -- listen to the speeches of the mighty representatives of large-scale monopoly capital of the US, or of their proteges, an editorial commission is working out the draft of orders to the new government which is to take into its hands the reins of state rule in Washington.

The government of the Republican Party, which received a majority in the elections of November 1952, had not yet been formed -- the change of authority did not take place officially until two months after the

presidential elections, but the representatives of the largest groupings of monopolistic capital of the United States of America had already been placed at the head of the various departments (ministries).

Neither had American businessmen been at a disadvantage under the government of the Democratic Party headed by President Truman. However, in the Truman cabinet, if one does not count Harriman, monopolistic capital was represented only through secondary lackies. But now, the most powerful representatives of the American "billionaires' club" had come to power.

At the congress of the National Association of Manufacturers, the new cabinet officers made speeches presenting their programs. The congress approved the program set forth by them of an arms race, an aggressive foreign policy "from positions of strength," of a further attack on the working class, and of an intensification of reaction within the country.

...Opposite the iron fence of the White House in Washington, behind narrow Lafayette Square stands a four-story building. A fantastic mixture of the ancient Greek style with the modern, a massive balustrade, and marble columns give the building a solid appearance. Here is located the American Chamber of Commerce (ACC).

The internal adornment of the building resembles its external appearance: oak panels, marble staircases, broad corridors. On one of the upper floors is located a hall with a queer concave ceiling and an ingenious cornice. At a table resembling two horseshoes meets the Council of the Chamber -- representatives of the largest financial, industrial and trade monopolies. Here are decided the important questions of the state policy of the US.

The residence of the Chamber of Commerce is located in the political capital of the country, Washington; the headquarters of the National Association of Manufacturers is placed in the financial and business capital of the US, New York. This symbolizes and confirms the fact that the NAM and the ACC, these staffs of the imperialist monopolies, occupy ruling positions both in the political and in the economic life of the American state. The declaration of the NAM that "the Association supports close contact with the government in the execution of its measures" is a reflection, even if not a full one, of that role which the National Association of Manufacturers plays in the administration of the country.

The Chamber of Commerce describes its role more openly. "The special staff of the Chamber of Commerce in Washington," it says in the report of the Council of the Chamber to its annual congress, "follows the work of Congress closely... The workers of this staff continually keep on the alert not only with regard to what is taking place in Congress at the given moment, but also in regard to everything that can testify to possible changes..."

* * *

The National Association of Manufacturers was created in the period when capitalism in the US, as in a number of other countries, was entering its higher and final phase, imperialism. The American state, being an instrument of the dictatorship of finance capital, began to carry out the broad plans of the imperialistic plunderers beyond the borders of the country. Powerful monopolistic associations grew up on the basis of unrestrained exploitation. The lack of rights of the workers spread the doctrine of revolution among the proletarian masses, broadened the workers' movement. The year preceding the creation of the NAM went down in the history of the American labor movement as a period of the high upsurge of the class struggle in the United States of America of the nineteenth century.

In this period of the stormy rise of American imperialism and of the growth of the labor movement, 600 of the largest industrialists of the US gathered on 22 January 1895 at a conference in the capital of the state of Ohio, the city of Cincinnati[sic]. It was at this conference that the National Association of Manufacturers was created. In 1912, the NAM organized the American Chamber of Commerce.

The propaganda of the American monopolies loves to preach about the "representative" nature of these two staffs of large capital. Thereby, allusion is made to the fact that there are 21,000 concerns, trusts, and corporations in the NAM, from the very largest to the very smallest. Seventy-five percent of all the workers of the country are employed in corporations belonging to the NAM, which put out up to 80% of industrial production. Advertising brochures invariably mention the fact that the American Chamber of Commerce unites 500 trade associations and 2,600 local Chambers of Commerce, that in it, together with the most important executives, there are thousands of small businessmen.

However, the decisive voice in these two organizations belongs to a small clique of the largest magnates of capital. In the NAM and the American Chamber of Commerce there is the undivided rule of the "billionaires' club" -- the largest concerns and banks of the country, whose capital exceeds billions of dollars.

The organization of the American economists -- the Association for Research in Problems of Labor in the United States -- reckons there to be 127 of the largest monopolists within the narrow circle of the ruling upper clique of the present day United States of America. People of the "billionaires' club" hold directors' posts on the boards of powerful concerns, banks, and insurance companies. To them, indeed, belong the ruling posts on the staffs of large capital -- the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce.

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The most important executives of American business are represented on eighteen committees of the NAM, and in twenty-one "specialized departments" and other organs of the Chamber of Commerce. These committees and departments were created in accordance with the image and likeness of the government and Congress of the US. Among these are committees and departments on foreign policy, international political and social problems, foreign trade, national defense, finances, legislative proposals, labor policy, government contracts, budget, taxes, and so forth. There are even organs called on to watch over the activity of the government. In the Chamber of Commerce, for example, there is a department for government affairs and for the organization and structure of the government apparatus. In the NAM, there exists a special committee on governmental expenditures.

In all these committees and departments, the decisive voice belongs to the representatives of the largest monopolies.

In the Council of Directors of the Association and the Chamber there are represented -- through their presidents or vice-presidents -- such gigantic concerns, which are the largest in the world, as the military-industrial and electrotechnical General Electric concern (the Morgans); the automobile and military-industrial corporation, General Motors (the DuPonts); the oil trust, Standard Oil of New Jersey (the Rockefellers); the aluminum monopoly, the Aluminum Company of America (the Mellons); the international atomic-dynamite and chemical trust, Du Pont de Nemours (the DuPonts); the agricultural machinery company, International Harvester (a Chicago monopolistic group), and so forth.

If one takes the NAM committee on foreign policy, then it turns out that, active in it are the representatives of almost all the monopolistic plunderers in the category of billionaire corporations: the Chase Manhattan Company Bank (the Rockefellers); Du Pont de Nemours, Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, General Motors, that giant of the steel industry, the United States Steel Corporation (the Morgans), the Morgan bank, Guaranty Trust Company, the Boston bank, First National Bank of Boston, the Chicago bank, First National Bank of Chicago, and others.

Only rarely do scant data penetrate into the American press about the still narrower circle of financial bigwigs who are in control behind the scenes of the NAM and the Chamber of Commerce. We have in mind the so-called special consultative committee, to which belongs a small group of concerns tied in with the most powerful monopolistic groupings of the US. Even in the report of one of the Senate committees (on the activity of this special consultative committee, it was noted that the representatives of the corporations belonging to it met to "select a common line of conduct... The majority of the concerns that are members of the

special consultative committee are simultaneously members of the inner leading group of the National Association of Manufacturers. They play a guiding role among American industrial giants in the appropriate fields, uniting in secret coalition..."

Robert A. Brady, a Columbia University professor, noted in one of his research works that "nowhere is displayed more clearly the ruling position of these concerns, the members of the special consultative committee, than in the National Association of Manufacturers."

* * *

The chief managers of business who figure in the capacity of directors, vice-presidents, and also as members of the majority of the committees and departments of both staffs of monopolistic capital of the US, also occupy the most important posts in the government and in government institutions, ruling the roost in the Senate and in the House of Representatives of the Congress.

Secretary of State John Foster Dulles is an extremely important jurist of the monopolies and partner in the legal firm of Sullivan and Cromwell, which serves many of the magnates of American capital and in particular, the oil empire of the Rockefeller and the Morgan corporations. He, indeed, was a director of the International Nickel Company and was chairman of the board of the Rockefeller Fund. Representatives of the Rockefeller trusts and the Morgan companies are distributed in a powerful flock in the Council of Directors and in the majority of the other organs of the NAM and the Chamber of Commerce.

The American foreign political US Department of State reeks so much of oil that Dulles had to admit this openly, when, in January 1957, he explained to the members of the Congress why the US was burning with desire to proclaim the "Eisenhower Doctrine," that immediate plan of foreign political expansion intended to hold the countries of the Near and Middle East within the system of colonial rule of the imperialist powers. Senator Langer permitted himself to ask Dulles about the capital investments of Sullivan and Cromwell in the oil industry, about the foreign states where that firm has capital, about the concerns which took part in forming the international oil consortium, and about the role of Dulles' deputy, Hoover, in this matter. There was nothing left for Dulles to do but acknowledge that his "offspring," Sullivan and Cromwell, "perhaps indeed has capital invested in oil."

The former Secretary of Defense Charles Wilson came to the Pentagon from the post of president of the General Motors concern, representatives of which sit in the committees and departments of the Association and the Chamber; to the family of the Du Ponts and to General Motors belongs the most influential voice in the rule of these two organizations.

The former Secretary of the Treasury, George Humphrey, in the past was a director of more than thirty companies and chairman of the Board of Directors of the Pittsburgh Consolidated Coal Company. Humphrey controlled the large iron ore and steel monopoly, M. A. Hanna and Company, the vice-president of which controls the NAM committee on taxes.

The retired Secretary of the Army Robert Stevens unites with the NAM and the Chamber of Commerce his directoral posts in the Morgan concerns of General Electric and General Foods, the managers of which figure in the capacity of directors, "vice-presidents, and also members of the majority of the committees and departments of the Association and the Chamber of Commerce." The Secretary of Commerce, Weeks, a former director of one of the largest banks of the US, the First National Bank of Boston, before entering the government held the post of regional vice-president of the NAM, heading the activity of the Association in the northeastern states of the country. Weeks belonged also to the NAM committee on governmental expenditures.

The Former Under-Secretary of the Treasury and now Secretary of Education of Health, Education, and Welfare, Marion Folsom, previously was a director and Treasurer of the huge monopoly Eastman Kodak and of a number of other companies. Simultaneously, he was a member of one of the committees of the NAM. The monopoly Eastman Kodak is represented in an extremely fundamental way both in the Association and in the Chamber of Commerce.

Many deputy secretaries, ambassadors, and high ranking persons in the ministries and the various governmental institutions are connected in one degree or another with the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce.

Thus, Nelson Rockefeller, son of the oil magnate John Rockefeller -- the actual owner of Standard Oil -- from time to time occupies different governmental posts, including such posts as that of special adviser to the White House on questions of foreign policy, and of head of the "psychological warfare" department. Winthrop Aldrich, son-in-law of John D. Rockefeller, former chairman of Rockefeller's Chase Manhattan Bank, for a long time occupied the post of ambassador to England. Douglas Dillon, one of the directors of the bankers' house of Dillon, Reed and Company, was US ambassador to France. Thomas Gates, a partner of the Morgan banking firm Drexel and Company (Philadelphia) was appointed Secretary of the Navy.

The NAM and the Chamber of Commerce actively exercise control in many international organizations, including some where the American government has official representatives. Both organizations are represented in the International Chamber of Commerce, in the Inter-American Council of Trade and Production, in the International Organization of Employers, in the International Labor Organization, and so on. They maintain their open

and covert observers at the United Nations Organization. Representatives of the NAM and the Chamber of Commerce were invited by the State Department to the conference in San Francisco convened in 1945 to complete the preparations for and to sign the charter of the UN.

The "brain centers" of the American monopolists attentively follow the activity of this organization, persistently striving to turn it into a branch of the American State Department. It is they who, with all their strength, are striving to revise the UN charter, trying to undermine its most fundamental basis -- the principle of the unanimity of the great powers in deciding the most important questions of maintaining peace and security throughout the world. In its annual report for 1953, the Chamber even emphasized that it was the Chamber which had "laid the basis for a study of the problems connected with the UN, for the preparation of American proposals for a revision of the charter."

Control of the monopolies of the NAM and the Chamber of Commerce over the legislative organs of the country -- the Senate and the House of Representatives -- is no less firm than that over the government.

This is testified to, above all, by the social makeup of the Congress. Thus, according to the estimates of the American press, in the 83rd Congress (1952-1954) there were 279 lawyers closely connected with capitalist monopolies (they represent their bosses in courts, and they also represent them in Congress), 138 businessmen, 37 professional politicians, 18 journalists, 18 landowners, 8 military men, and 33 other persons. In the last two Congresses, as before, businessmen and lawyers of large-scale business predominate. In them there has not been and there is not a single worker or a single toiling farmer.

It is such a makeup of Congress which permits the Chamber of Commerce to declare, like something self-evident, that "for the adoption of laws... Congress needs the arrangements and recommendations of business.... The Chamber of Commerce informs Congress of its point of view by two means: by sending directly to Congress the recommendations of business about bills; and by advising business people in localities to influence, with their ideas, Congressmen representing their election districts."

Besides the open henchmen of the Association and the Chamber, numerous "lobbyists" act in Congress -- special agents of capitalist monopolies striving for the adoption or defeat in Congress of one bill or another by means of corridor deals and bribes, and by winning over those Congressmen who are not directly in the service of the monopolies or who, indeed, permit themselves to play at democracy. The American journalists Allen and Shannon write that "the scope of the lobbies, their influence, capacity to do evil, greed, machinations, deceit, and falsification have reached such a scale...that they threaten the government itself." The most powerful, naturally, are the "lobbies" of the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce.

A certain colonel, Martin M. Mulhill, who for a long time was one of the paid lobbyists of the NAM and the organization connected with it, the National Council for the Defense of Industry, had a disagreement with his bosses. The latter simply fired him. The furious Mulhill wrote revealing articles in the newspaper The Chicago Tribune. He described in detail the methods by which large capital, and above all the Association, hold Congress in their hands. Mulhill handed over to the newspaper 65 dossiers showing how the NAM exercises influence on presidents, vice-presidents, and many senators and members of the House of Representatives of the American Congress. The colonel's articles told how the NAM organizes the promotion in Congress of people advantageous to it, their being named to committees of Congress, and so forth.

"A Congress of businessmen," declared one far from progressive US political leader, "has sold millions of American voters to a small clique of people who have paid with ready cash." When a well-known American servant of the church was asked whether he prays for the members of Congress, the answer followed: "No, I look at the members of Congress and I pray for the country."

* * *

The existence and activity of the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce -- the staffs of US large finance capital -- does not mean, of course, a weakening of the extremely sharp struggle among the monopolists. On the contrary, the struggle among them for sources of raw materials and markets, for spheres of influence, for power in the country, for profitable governmental orders -- above all, military orders -- for gain and profit, is becoming ever more persistent and merciless. In all this, in these conflicts, robbers take part, whose loot is reckoned not by the hundreds of thousands and millions, but by the hundreds of millions and billions of dollars.

An example of such a struggle is the fight for the largest transportation arteries of the country, which has developed in recent years between the magnates of the Middle West (Chicago and Cleveland monopolistic groups) and an association of financiers representing the power and influence of Wall Street. As a result of this struggle, the Cleveland railroad king Robert Young, having formed an alliance with a number of monopolists of the Middle West and "nouveau riche" millionaires from the state of Texas in 1954, tore away from the Morgans the New York Central System, the second railroad in size in the US, whose assets exceed 2.5 billion dollars, and established his control over it.

Discussing the ins and outs of this struggle, one of the most well informed US press organs, the newspaper The New York Times, wrote that "a financial war has broken out on a scale such as has rarely been observed in this century.... On the horizon, conflicts are drawing near, in comparison

with which the fight for the New York Central system possibly will seem only a duel with pistols. The financial and industrial capital of the Middle West..., apparently, is testing its strength for a decisive conflict with the eastern groups..."

In the bitter struggle with the other groupings of Wall Street, the Rockefeller Chase National Bank in January 1955 swallowed up the Bank of Manhattan Company, which had been controlled by the Kuhn-Loeb family. Having gained control of the assets of this bank, the Rockefellers turned their bank, now under the name of the Chase Manhattan Company, into one of the largest banks of the capitalist world.

Throughout the period 1954-1957, even experienced American observers were perplexed by a series of "mergers", "absorptions", and failures in the competitive struggle of the largest enterprises of the country in all branches of industry and spheres of economic and financial activity. In January 1957, the magazines Life and Look destroyed their long-standing competitor, the magazine Colliers. They thus compelled one of the oldest American magazines, with a circulation of 4.5 million copies, to cease existence. The magazine Look inherited all of Colliers business, and, of course, its subscribers.

The unrestrained struggle of the magnates of large capital for power in the country finds its reflection also in their striving to strengthen their influence in the two main coordinating centers of the monopolies -- the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce. The distribution of forces of the monopolies within these organizations and the influence in them depends on those positions which the monopolies occupy in the economy of the country. The Association and the Chamber of Commerce are cartels of a certain type, roles in which are distributed in conformity with the real balance of forces. Inasmuch as all the monopolies are striving to change this balance to their own advantage, the role of one monopolistic group or another in the NAM and the Chamber of Commerce does not remain unchanged.

With every year, imperialist contradictions become more and more profound, and intensify the competitive battle for the expansion of the sphere of monopolistic rule, for the conquest of ruling positions in the economic and political life of the country. But in such questions of foreign and domestic policy as the militarization of the economy, preparation for war, opposition to peace-loving forces and to democracy throughout the world, as well as to the labor movement within the US -- in all these extremely important questions the various groupings of monopolistic capital act with closed ranks. They dictate their reactionary, aggressive policy to the upper cliques of both main bourgeois parties of the US -- the Republican and Democratic parties. Congress acts according to their instructions. Satisfaction of their interests is the law for the apparatus of state administration of the country.

* * *

If one takes the constitution (by-laws) of the National Association of Manufacturers, which is often changed and amended in conformity with the demands of the moment, we see that in one of its variants, adopted in 1950, there is inscribed the following official goals of this organization: "Securing the industrial and financial interests of the USA"; "joint action for the development of foreign trade"; "securing the interests of capital in its struggle against the labor movement"; "the struggle for the preservation of the foundations of private property"; "propaganda of ideas and dissemination of information" having as their purpose the defense of the interests of American imperialism; "support of legislative acts" aimed at carrying out these purposes, and "checking upon their implementation by the state apparatus."

However, the activity of the NAM and the Chamber of Commerce goes far beyond the bounds of even these officially proclaimed programmatic provisions. Both staffs of American monopolistic capital keep under their unslackening observation all sides of the activity of the present-day American state.

From the very first days of the existence of the NAM and the Chamber of Commerce, their activity had an imperialist character. They displayed exceptional activity in working out and executing numerous expansionist "programs" and "plans" which so persistently bind the United States of America to the other countries of the capitalist world.

Within the heart of the Association and the Chamber were worked out the "Truman Doctrine," the "Marshall Plan," the program for rendering "aid" to the so-called underdeveloped countries, and the "Eisenhower Doctrine". For example, it is pointed out, in the programmatic document of the Chamber of Commerce devoted to setting forth its "position in questions of world policy," that the Chamber had approved the "Truman Doctrine" -- that plan for military and economic seizure of new territories and colonies in the eastern portion of the Mediterranean Sea -- even before it "became an object of examination by both houses of Congress."

As far as the "Marshall Plan" is concerned, the NAM has boasted that it was the "first organization in the US which wholly supported the creation and principles of action of the Economic Cooperation Administration: many recommendations advanced by the NAM were made the basis of the activity of this Administration; and people were supplied by the Association for leading posts." The Chamber of Commerce published a statement which set forth the goals and tasks, methods and means of carrying out this "aid." In 1952, the Chamber noted that "Congress has used many of its principles in legislative activity on the given question."

The "Eisenhower Doctrine," that child of the imperialist policy of the US, is just such a product of the activity of the Chamber and the Association as the rest of the "doctrines," "plans" and "programs" kindred to it. Eisenhower, the President of the country, presented his doctrine to the Congress on 5 January 1957. But prior to him, clear demands on this question had been noisily formulated by two other presidents who were no less influential: Henry Alexander, president of the J. P. Morgan and Company, and Rathbone, the president of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey. These are the heads of two concerns playing "first fiddle" in the NAM and the Chamber. On 7 December 1956, that is, almost a month before the official proclamation of the "Eisenhower Doctrine," Alexander, speaking in Chicago at a meeting of businessmen who were leaders of enterprises, demanded that the government carry out a more decisive policy in the Near and Middle East, and defined the bases of this "doctrine." "We cannot," he declared, "disavow what is our own...An American doctrine is necessary for the Near and Middle East, precisely in the same way that there exists an American doctrine for Greece and Turkey and an American doctrine for Formosa (that is Taiwan -- D. A.), Quemoy and Matsu." Within a short time, Rathbone spoke before the Chamber of Commerce of the state of Oklahoma, giving advice -- sounding like an order -- to carry out a "firm policy" in the Arab East: "The United States should exercise leadership for the restoration of peace and stability in this region... This, without doubt, is a problem from which we shall not be able to separate ourselves easily... We shall go forward prudently and decisively..." The activity of the NAM and the Chamber of Commerce, the speeches of these two presidents, the adoption by the government and the Congress of the course proposed by the monopolies, pre-determined the adoption of the "Eisenhower Doctrine." The USA took one more adventurist step in its irrational and dangerous game directed at establishing its world rule.

One day the ruling circles of the US felt the need of carrying out a special check on the states receiving American "aid." The goal of the check was to establish whether the "aid" rendered these countries answers the interests of American capital sufficiently. A group of 55 employers and financiers -- in essence fully controlled by the NAM and the Chamber of Commerce -- was designated to carry out the check. At the head of the group of investigators was placed the chairman of the board of directors of Morgan's General Foods Corporation. As it turned out, the representative of this "General Foods," C. M. Chester, is honorary vice-president of the Association. The sub-group for checking England was headed by Henning Prentis, honorary vice-president of the NAM and head of a number of departments of the Chamber of Commerce. The sub-group for checking France was led by Joseph Spang, vice-president of the NAM. At the head of the group of investigators in Italy was placed Frederick Crawford, an honorary vice-president of the National Association of Manufacturers.

In recent years, a number of conferences of magnates of large capital have been held by the association and the chamber for the purpose of strengthening the positions of American capital in the world market. One of these meetings was the attentively prepared conference of industrialists of the USA and the countries of Western Europe, held in Paris in 1954. The decisions of this conference were not published. But even the reactionary press admitted that the basic purpose of this gathering of imperialists was "the strengthening of the struggle against the USSR."

In February 1955, in New Orleans, at the initiative of the association and chamber, and with the assistance of the American ruling circles, a convocation of industrialists of Western hemisphere countries was held. Four hundred representatives of the comprador bourgeoisie of the Latin American countries met with 400 of the largest American businessmen. The tasks of this convocation included the creation, for the monopolists of the USA, of still more favorable conditions for the investment of their capital in the countries of Latin America.

In 1957, the second such convocation of leaders of industrial and financial capital of the countries of the American continent was held in Caracas.

* * *

The Second World War was a genuine orgy of profit for the American monopolists. From June 1940 through September 1944 the value of the fundamental military orders issued by the American government to the monopolists amounted to 175 billion dollars. One hundred of the largest concerns received 117 billion dollars in military orders. The profits of these concerns rose 370 percent by 1944, in comparison with 1939.

During the period of the war, the businessmen of the monopolies, the NAM, and the Chamber of Commerce seized all the key positions in the state apparatus. They dictated conditions.

In the fall of 1942, representatives of one of the leading organs of the National Association of Manufacturers gathered at the Pennsylvania Hotel in New York to work out their program. Lamont Du Pont, a vice-president of the NAM, made a speech. "Toward the government and toward all squawkers," he said, "we must conduct ourselves as we do toward buyers of goods in short supply. We dictate the prices. They need our goods. Fine! Let them pay in full!"

The well-known liberal American journalist William Allen White ironically noted that the representatives of the monopolies, having implanted themselves in the state apparatus of the USA, had the firm intention of "profiting by this war for their own benefit," at any price.

The arms were stacked. The peoples who had borne upon their shoulders all the misfortunes of war demanded the establishment of a firm, lasting peace. But how did the imperialist monopolies, the NAM, the Chamber of Commerce behave toward this great and important task?

As early as November 1945, the Association and the Chamber convened a meeting of 66 magnates of American finance capital, in order to work out a common line among the US monopolies on questions of foreign and domestic policy. Among those who took part in the conference, which was held in strict secrecy in the small town of Absecon, were W. Aldrich, president of Rockefeller's Chase National Bank, Lamont Du Pont and J. DuPont from the DuPont de Nemours concern, the leaders of such monopolies as General Motors, General Electric, and others. The result of the conference was the proclamation of a "tough policy" and the beginning of the "cold war" against the USSR.

This directive of the meeting was carried out precisely by the Truman government. At the annual congress of the NAM in 1945, [Robert R.] Wason, its president at that time, proclaimed the imperialist doctrine of the "American era": "The United States has become a leading world power," he declared. "The 20th century is the century of America." Right after this, Truman, the President of the country, officially declared the US's pretension to "leadership of the world."

The entire postwar policy of the ruling circles of the US has consisted of attempts to put this aggressive doctrine into effect. In the execution of the course laid down by the NAM and the Chamber of Commerce, laws were approved and principles of policy were declared which placed the peoples of the entire world under a threat to their peace and security; the forces of international imperialist reaction were consolidated against the countries of the socialist camp.

Soon after the start of the war in Korea, the NAM and the Chamber of Commerce proposed to the government to demand of its allies in the Atlantic Bloc an intensification of the arms race, a reorganization of their armed forces. This course was planned in documents of the Association and the Chamber adopted as early as July 1950. The official organ of the Association, The NAM News, emphasized that "as a result of the events in the Far East, the basic buttress to the foreign policy of the US has been transferred from economic pressure to the use of armed force. We should decisively re-examine our plan, and hasten to the maximum the rearming of the countries of the Atlantic Bloc ... Now the buttress is being formed in the creation of armed forces..."

Soon afterward, resolutions of the Council of Directors of the NAM and the Chamber of Commerce appeared, in which it was cynically pointed out: "The West European countries should make heavy sacrifices in the interest of the creation of armed forces... The American government should receive firm assurances from these countries with regard to the effective mobilization by them of popular and material resources."

This was the policy of the unleashing of local wars and the preparation of a "large" third world war.

The enthusiasm with which the executives of the NAM and the Chamber of Commerce welcomed the war in Korea is understandable. The total sum of allocations for the production of arms and for military construction during the two and one-half years of the war in Korea reached, according to the official data of the Department of Defense, 169.7 billion dollars. This was almost equal to the cost of the basic military orders in the US during the Second World War. As a result, the profits of the cannon kings and concerns working for the war rose sharply. The profits of the US monopolies during the war reached 118 billion dollars.

The NAM, together with the Department of Defense, informed the monopolies in detail how and by what means government orders would be granted. "In order not to create chaos in Washington," the NAM prepared special drafts regulating the order and sequence of the issuance of contracts. Immediately after the beginning of military operations a meeting was held between the leaders of the Association and members of the government. Putnam, president of the Association, sent President Truman a telegram which revealed with cynical frankness the NAM's readiness to work even further together with the government toward the unleashing of a general armed conflict: "American industry with its productive might publicly assumes the obligation of fully satisfying the needs of the United States and its allies... If Korea leads to a general war... American industry is ready for this, too."

Making profit out of the war in Korea, the American monopolies hindered its ending in every way. In a special memorandum of the NAM sent to the government, it was pointed out that the war in Korea had deferred a sharp economic crisis on whose threshold the US had been in 1950. The cessation of military operations and removal of American troops from Korea, it was pointed out in this memorandum, would have "a pernicious influence" on the economy of the USA. In December 1950, Putnam, the president of the NAM, declared in the name of the NAM's members that the condition of the US economy depended on how long military operations would continue in Korea and Viet Nam, and how much longer government military expenditures would be made.

The magnates of American finance capital, the NAM and the Chamber of Commerce, used the Korea War as a pretext to shunt the economy of the US onto military rails. A military economy became the source of further enrichment for the directors of monopolistic capital, and a necessary condition for the receipt of the maximum possible profits. The arms race in the US took on a scope unprecedented in history. In the ten years following the completion of the second World War (from 1946 - 1955), direct military expenditures of the US reached astronomical figures -- 303 billion dollars. This exceeds the entire "gross national product" of the country

for 1954. The state apparatus of the USA was converted into a gigantic press, squeezing enormous taxes out of the workers. These funds were sent into the safes of the largest monopolies in the form of payments for military orders and as various sorts of subsidies. At the present time military production constitutes about 20 percent of the entire value of US industrial production. That is why the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce are trying to turn the arms race and the "cold war" policy into a permanent factor.

In the declaration "on the policy of the Chamber of Commerce," adopted at its congress in 1954, it is said that, in planning their policy and their expenditures, the ruling circles should base themselves on the fact that "the existing state of tension throughout the world will continue indefinitely." In this same declaration, the Chamber approvingly pats the government circles on the back for the policy conducted by them of "creating strong offensive and defensive armed forces, calculated for undetermined periods of time." In the interests of the execution of this policy the congress of the Chamber adopted a series of resolutions -- on the principles of mobilization of the economy, on the number of men in the armed forces, and so forth.

The decisions of the congress on questions of foreign policy touch on all aspects of the official political course maintained by the American ruling circles. Here are "the merciless struggle against communism," the blockade of the People's Republic of China, the organization of subversive activity in the countries of the democratic camp, the embargo on trade with the USSR and the plans of rearming West Germany. It is instructive that US Vice-President Nixon, the current Secretary of Defense Wilson, and other state leaders made speeches at the congress. Wilson devoted his speech to a description of the "new military policy of the US." He assured the Chamber that the ruling circles were ready to give that policy an even more bellicose character in the event of "critical" events in Europe and Asia.

* * *

While working out and dictating a policy to the American state -- a policy completely alien to the interests of the common people of America -- the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce simultaneously carry out furious propaganda, striving to exercise the influence necessary to them on public opinion in the country. Hundreds of transmitters broadcast and televise special programs prepared by the NAM and the Chamber. They distribute millions of books, brochures, pamphlets, and informational materials; they create special films, and organize numerous conferences, meetings, and gatherings. The NAM alone supplies "guidance information to 2,700 leading journalists, Washington capitol correspondents, and columnists." News, cartoons and other materials are sent out free to 5,540 newspapers and journals. The NAM daily spends one

million dollars in order to compel the American people to believe a direct lie -- to believe that the imperialist monopolies are the "benefactors" of the US. A significant portion of the funds allocated by the NAM to educational institutions is designed to form the consciousness of youth in a spirit beneficial to the forces of reaction.

The Chamber of Commerce also conducts advertising and propaganda activity on the same enormous scale. It publishes about 20 press organs, including the monthly journal The Nation's Business, whose circulation is 800,000 copies. The press service of the Chamber serves 1,400 daily and more than a thousand weekly US newspapers. Just as the NAM does, the Chamber of Commerce provides journalists and radio commentators with "guidance" information.

The kindling of enmity for the Soviet Union and for the people's democracies is a common note in all the propaganda of the association and the Chamber. Day after day, the thought is instilled in readers that the arms race is "necessary," that war is supposedly inevitable, and peaceful coexistence of countries and peoples allegedly impossible. "There can be no compromise whatever between the USSR and the USA," asserts the NAM in one of its numerous brochures. "We stand for a pitiless struggle against communism," reads a declaration of a recent congress of the Chamber of Commerce. And in his report to the 61st Congress of the NAM held in December 1956, -- Parker, a former president of the Association, called for re-examination of the question of breaking off diplomatic relations between the USA and the USSR. The striving to blacken the Soviet Union drives the leaders of the NAM and the Chamber of Commerce to the wildest fabrications and slanders.

A Senate committee which carried out an investigation of the activity of the Association in 1940 was obliged literally, to declare the following: "The National Association of Manufacturers has deluged the country with anonymous propaganda for the purpose of disorienting and deceiving public opinion... That propaganda, whose origin within the NAM is almost completely hidden from public opinion, is persistently displayed from day to day with the aid of all means of press, radio, schools, lectures, and so forth... The NAM contrives to carry on its propaganda through subsidiary organizations, in order to disorient public opinion and to convince it that this propaganda emanates from independent sources. The leaders of the Association boast that their propaganda influences the political views of millions of citizens and their choice of candidates for state posts."

The unbridled and open, or subtle and hidden -- depending on circumstances -- propaganda carried on by the NAM and the Chamber of Commerce represents a complex of ideas and principles, the operative goal of which is to corrupt the consciousness of the ordinary American, to subordinate him to the interests of the ruling groups, to poison him with the preaching

of "class harmony," with the chauvinistic venom of "Americanism," with hatred for the ideas of socialism and toward the countries which are putting these ideas into effect. All actual class relations are made confused. Profit is proclaimed the highest meaning of human existence. The close ties between the Association and the Chamber with the press, radio, information agencies, and publishing concerns make the scope of this propaganda flooding the American people indeed ominous.

Many of the executives of the leading organs of press and radio and publishing concerns are members of committees of the Association and of departments of the Chamber. Some of them have fought their way up to the higher leading posts. Walter Fuller, chairman of the board of directors of the Curtis Publishing Company, which issues the magazine Saturday Evening Post, known for its extremely reactionary nature, has been a president of the NAM. Fuller is now an honorary vice president of the Association. One of the directors of the Chamber of Commerce and leader of its department of foreign trade is Arthur Motley, vice president of the Crowell-Collier Publishing Company, a large publishing concern. A vice president of the NAM committee for foreign policy questions is James McGraw, one of the owners of the McGraw-Hill Publishing Company, and of the journal Business Week. [Charles] Douglas, publisher of the journal Fortune, who for a long time was President Eisenhower's assistance for the planning of the "cold war," also is a member of this committee. In the various departments of the Chamber of Commerce one can find the publishers of such journals and newspapers as Look, Readers Digest, The Christian Science Monitor, and many others.

At the NAM Congress in December 1956, together with other plans of political activity of the monopolies, there was approved the new, grandiose program for the intensification of propaganda set forth in the report of the Managing Director of the NAM, Kenneth Miller. Addressing the delegates of the congress, he stated literally the following: "Our task consists in obtaining the loyalty and good-will of the American people, their faith in the leadership of manufacturers... In conformity with our program of influencing the public, we constantly maintain working contact with the press, radio, and television, with magazines distributed throughout the country, with economic newspapers, and with all the other organs of the printed word. Week after week and month after month the number of pages depicting the goals and intentions of industry is becoming more and more imposing... We penetrate clubs and military organizations. With the aid of our educational and training programs, we act in closer and closer cooperation with schools and colleges. Our departments for work among women not only maintain close ties with women's organizations and groups, but also cover women in everyday life through the publication of materials which interest them in magazines and newspapers, as well as in radio and television broadcasts.

"By making use of our program for ties between industry and the church, we bring acquaintance with the affairs of industry to the church goers, whose interest in economic matters and in the factors leading to economic progress has been rapidly growing in recent years.

"Thanks to all our chosen activity, we are achieving a great deal of success in our work of influencing the American people, using for this purpose every channel and every means leading to the masses. However, the only way that all this expanded activity can be successful is for businessmen to take part in the battle for the minds of people everywhere they live and act. That battle must be carried on constantly, not only with the aid of money, but also on a still greater scale -- devoting personal time and attention to it."

* * *

What the NAM and the Chamber of Commerce are striving for within their country, what policy they are following with regard to the American workers, can be seen especially vividly from the activity of these organizations during the economic crises of the 1930s, during the Second World War, and especially in the postwar period.

When the economic crisis was raging in the USA in 1929 to 1933 and the revolutionary movement was expanding, plans were being prepared within the heart of the NAM and the Chamber for establishing a fascist dictatorship within the USA in the image and likeness of Nazi Germany.

The fact that such plans were seriously being prepared is testified to by the evidence which General Smedley Butler gave at one time to the committee of the US Congress known under the name of the MacCormack-Dickstein Committee. The General related that Gerald [Jeremiah De Smet?] Maguire, a certain banker of the Morgan group, tried to persuade him to become the head of a military plot having as its purpose establishment of a fascist-military dictatorship in the US. The organizers of this black adventure proposed to create a fascist army of 500,000 soldiers. It was planned to obtain arms for the army from the Du Pont armaments firm, the Remington Arms Company. Maguire spoke in the name of the fascist organization "The League of Freedom," enjoying the support of the largest magnates of capital.

In 1938, that is, in the period when the USA was falling into a new economic crisis, and into the period of intensive preparation by the imperialist powers for the unleashing of the Second World War, the Chamber of Commerce convened a meeting of 200 of the largest industrialists. At this meeting, H. Prentiss, head of the Armstrong Cork Company, who was one of the directors of the NAM and the Chamber of Commerce, and who was subsequently president and honorary vice-president of the NAM, declared to those gathered that the necessity of resorting to "some form of hidden dictatorship..." was rising before the employers.

About a year before Munich, on 23 November 1937 -- that is, soon after the meeting at which Hitler acquainted his military chiefs with the plans for aggression against Austria and Czechoslovakia (the genuine record of this meeting was furnished to the Nuremberg tribunal which tried the chief Nazi criminals) -- there took place in the USA a secret meeting of representatives of American "big business" and German fascism. "Big business" was represented by several eminent leaders of the NAM, including Lamot Du Pont, former president of General Motors and one of the chief executives of the Association. At this meeting, which was described in detail in the 30 August 1942 reports of Congress, representatives of the American monopolists and the German fascists -- Von Killinger, German Consul General in San Francisco, and Toppelkitch, Consul General in Boston, discussed the question of joint activity directed against the USSR, the question of the division of spheres of influence in the world, and of the possibility of applying German-fascist methods in the internal affairs of the USA.

In 1939, the Second World War, fostered by international imperialist reaction, broke out. Within two years, the USA was obliged to become one of its direct participants. And immediately, the groups of magnates of capital ruling within the USA, fearing the consequences of the war on internal political life, and recalling with fright the sharp strengthening of the labor movement within the country after the end of World War I, planned an unbridled program for curbing the labor movement. That program was worked out by Lamot Du Pont, vice president of the National Association of Manufacturers, and adopted in 1942 at a closed session of the committee on resolutions.

As soon as the war ended, the program of struggle against the labor movement was developed further. Broad measures began to be carried out to "bring order" into the state apparatus, Congress, the trade unions, and into the personal and public life of the common American people.

Within the very shortest period, all those who had more or less soberly judged existing international conditions, and the paths of development of Soviet-American relations in particular, all those who appealed for caution in the execution of foreign policy, were expelled from the government of President Truman, that "provincial politician from the state of Missouri," as American journalists christened him. Assiduous preparation was begun for the elections to the 80th Congress, as a result of which a legislative organ was elected in 1946, which was called "a Congress of Businessmen." This congress was literally flooded with bills directed against the workers. Hundreds of anti-labor bills, one after another, were advanced for its examination. There began in the country the still-continuing "witch-hunt" -- the campaign of destruction of the progressive and democratic forces of the American people, with the purpose of consolidating the control of the monopolists over the labor

movement. And it was not seldom that textual similarities were observed between decisions issued by American state organs and the recommendations worked out by the NAM and the Chamber of Commerce for a struggle against the "red danger."

When the Association and the Chamber obtained the adoption in 1947 of the draconic Taft-Hartley law, Congressman O'Toole of the House of Representatives openly testified that this law "was phrase for phrase, point for point, page for page, written by the National Association of Manufacturers." The anti-democratic program of the Chamber of Commerce and the NAM found its reflection also in the extraordinary order of President Truman on testing loyalty; in the "internal security" law (McCarran-Byrd Act adopted in 1950); in the law on immigration and naturalization (McCarran-Walter Act, adopted in 1952); and in the decision placing the American Communist Party outside the law (the Brownell-Butler Act, adopted in 1954). These laws, together with the Taft-Hartley law, become ominous landmarks of the era of police terror and political oppression in present-day America.

For the struggle against the labor movement, the rulers of the Association and the Chamber made wide use not only of a number of terroristic organizations of monopolistic capital, but also of the reactionary upper clique of the largest association of American trade unions, the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations: Meany, Carey, and the other servants of the magnates of Wall Street like them. The reformists within the labor movements, as well as the broad network of spies, informers, and provocateurs spread by the monopolists throughout the country, helped the monopolists to a considerable degree in carrying out their plans for the still greater economic and political enslavement of the people.

The NAM and the Chamber of Commerce finance such organizations as the American Legion, the black-hundred band of the Ku Klux Klan, and many other fascist organizations. In the year 1951 alone, a group of the largest monopolies which held command in the NAM and the Chamber of Commerce allocated 350 million dollars to various reactionary organizations occupied in provocative activity among the American workers and conducting subversive work in foreign states.

The Chamber and the Association, in trying to hinder the growth of the labor movement and seeking to place it under the complete control of the monopolies, makes use of numerous detachments of professional spies, informers, and provocateurs. According to the evidence of the bourgeois journalist Gunther, the worker "never knows who his neighbor on the conveyor belt is -- a spy or an honest man."

In 1954 a new monstrous plot of the NAM and the Chamber of Commerce against the workers became known. One American trade union journal succeeded in obtaining and publishing the secret "Report No. 60," entitled "On Security in Industry" prepared by the NAM and distributed only to "cooperating companies" and "for the information" of a small circle of reactionary journalists. This was a carefully worked out plan for the further development of the capitalist inquisition in the country, for the creation of a still wider network of detectives and professional informers to spy on the ordinary American. In "Report No. 60" the companies are instructed how to create special "committees of security" and how to direct their activity. Among the tasks of these committees, "which are under the supervision of the higher administration of the enterprise," is included the denouncing of all "unfaithful" workers with the purpose of isolating them and persecuting them further. In this connection, it is recommended, for example, that the fingerprints of all workers be taken, that a "loyalty oath" be extracted from them, and that a "system of observation" of workers be created. That "system" provided for the organization, in each shop, of secret groups to which persons should be drawn "who enjoy trust" among the workers and who would, therefore, have more opportunity "to carry on observations of the actions and conduct" of their comrades. At the same time, it is suggested that the companies compile "files" on each worker, bringing into them all materials "compromising" him: to record what a worker has said in a locker room or at a trade-union meeting, whom he has met, to what organizations he belongs, and so forth.

A number of concerns, including the billionaire corporation General Electric, have already announced that any worker accused of being a "Red," or refusing to betray anyone at all to investigating committees occupied with hunting down democratically-minded persons, will be fired.

In the spring of 1954, the Chamber of Commerce adopted, at its annual congress, a 27-page program on the trade union and labor movement, in which it openly demanded the banning of "solidarity strikes" and "picketing with the purpose of gaining recognition of the rights of trade unions," and also the adoption by the American Congress of other measures aimed at depriving the workers of the most elementary rights in defense of their interests. George Armstrong, a representative of the National Association of Manufacturers, spoke before Congress -- the Committee on Labor Affairs of the House of Representatives -- with analogous demands. At the same time, in their press organs Washington Report and Washington Bulletin, the NAM and the Chamber demanded of Congress the adoption of "tougher" anti-labor legislation than the Taft-Hartley Law.

The U. S. Congress did not delay in satisfying these demands. A number of bills were presented in the House of Representatives and Senate during both sessions of the 83rd Congress, including those of Butler, Miller, Goldwater-Rhodes, Veldte, Benson and Brownell. These bills found

their fulfillment in the Brownell-Butler Law, adopted by the Congressmen. In appraising this activity of Congress, the trade-union press emphasized that the adoption of anti-labor laws by Congress "is exactly what the National Association of Manufacturers and the American Chamber of Commerce had demanded."

"Industry is ceasing rear guard battles and is shifting to mass attack" -- thus did NAM director Miller describe yet another program of the rulers of American capital advanced by the 61st congress of the industrialists in 1956. The congress announced a new campaign against the workers and toilers to secure the interests of the monopolies. At the congress a five-year plan was advanced for the reduction of taxes on corporations; the execution of this plan would permit such taxes to be lowered about one-half. Inasmuch as no reduction in expenditures by the government was simultaneously envisaged, it becomes clear that the working people were supposed to compensate to the state treasury for this half. At the same time, social legislation was subjected to ferocious attacks by the industrialists. Parker, the president of the Association, called social security, pensions, unemployment aid, trade-union rights secured by law, and even... hot breakfasts for school children "an alien body in the social system of America" which should be eliminated in order "to save the USA from creeping socialism." A demand was put forward for the adoption of "the toughest measures" and for the use of "police clubs" to curb the workers and the trade unions, for the application of the Taft-Hartley law against strikers on a still wider scale, for the use of the "anti-trust" laws against trade unions (although those laws are intended to battle the arbitrary rule of the monopolies), for the mass application of so-called "labor laws" setting forth the "right" of strike-breakers to work, and for a number of other draconic measures. In discussing ways of putting the planned anti-popular measures into effect, the orators at the congress unanimously noted that the climate for this "is now more favorable in Washington than at any other time", and that the voice of the industrialists would be listened to there with great attention.

One day one of the auxilliary organs of the NAM, the so-called National Council of Industrial Conferences, held a special convocation to discuss ways and means to fight the trade unions.

There spoke the convocation Colonel John F. Moran, the head of the division for questions of security in industry under the main chief of military police. "Industrialists," he declared, "should be ready to adopt police measures -- to surround plants with dual barbed wire fences, electrically charged, to set up steel towers with guards possessing fire-arms, to take the fingerprints of all workers." One of the industrialists attending the meeting displayed vivid interest in the experience of the Hitlerites: "What did the Germans do under Hitler to prevent the

interference of the communists?" he asked. "They put them in concentration camps. They uncovered them with the aid of the secret policy. They did precisely what I have advised you to do this morning," answered Moran.

This is the fate which is being prepared for the American workers by the magnates of large capital in the US -- the Morgans, the Rockefellers, the Du Ponts, the Fords, and the like. Into concentration camps! Behind bars! Behind electrified barbed wire!

Against this the best of the American people are fighting now. The toilers are rebuffing the all-powerful monopolies. This is testified to by the growth of the strike movement, by the stubborn character of the strike battle of the workers.

The American plutocracy is striving to suppress this valiant struggle. It is persecuting the militant organizations of the American working class. It whips itself into a fury, lies, slanders, deceives, undertakes desperate adventures, trying, with the help of a terroristic dictatorship, to support the foundations of capitalism.

But there are no forces in the world that can halt the forward development of mankind, or prevent the common people of all countries, including the American people as well, from taking the path of freedom, progress, universal happiness and prosperity.

Uncrowned Kings of America

V. Morev

A gloomy, narrow stone canyon. Along both sides rise the somber facades of multi-storied buildings. The windows of the floors are barred with heavy grates behind which thick dusty window panes are glimpsed. Massive metal doors, copper signs with embossed letters. This is Wall Street in New York.

Here, in Wall Street is the center of American finance capital, the lair of the largest monopolistic associations. Here are found the real rulers of present-day America -- the largest industrial monopolies, banks, and financial concerns.

A few decades ago, this was the only center of power in the USA. But later, other groupings of American finance capital also became stronger. La Salle Street in the business district of Chicago has long become a center of capital rivaling and competing with Wall Street and conducting a bitter struggle against it. In America, eight groups of finance capital can be counted. One of the mightiest of them is the oligarchy of the Morgans.

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In the editorial office of one of the "respectable" American bourgeois newspapers, they showed a visiting Soviet journalist the research section. In high iron cabinets stood meticulous files supplied with dividers and indices. In them was gathered everything which had been printed at any time about the heroes of the day of America -- financiers, politicians, gangsters. A special "file" was devoted to each. From the number of newspaper and magazine clippings existing in them one can judge how famous is one or another "hero" of contemporary America. The "files" of the most well-known figures, who are now in their declining years, contain prepared obituaries to which there only remains to add two or three lines in case of need.

The journalist asked them to show him the "files" of the most well-known people in the USA. They brought him dozens of swollen files. A renowned baseball player, half a dozen motion picture actors, two or three boxers.

"But is it impossible to see what you have about the Morgan financiers?" the journalist asked the workers in the editorial office. Within a minute, there lay on the table a thin cardboard file. In it there turned out to be no more than two or three dozen yellowing newspaper clippings. These were notes of the most innocent, chronicle-type nature.

Attempts to clarify the causes of such "modesty" by the American press in depicting the activity of the uncrowned kings of America did not lead to anything -- the workers of the editorial office did not desire to reveal their secrets.

Everything that concerns the magnates of American monopolistic capital is subjected to the strictest invisible censorship in the largest American newspapers and magazines. There is nothing surprising here -- it is rare for one of these organs of the American press not to be dependent on finance capital. Burning incense of the most delicate flattery to them, depicting them in the role of "philanthropists" and "benefactors," the bourgeois press at the same time carefully masks and hides their real business. And only in a few progressive newspapers, which experience continual financial difficulties and which are baited by the "large" capitalist press and by the entire apparatus of subtle, dangerous and pernicious propaganda, is it possible to find unmasking words of truth about the dictatorship of financial monopolistic capital of the US and about its most influential representatives, the Morgans.

The dynasty of the Morgans is represented now by two brothers. On the board of the bank of J. P. Morgan and Company in Wall Street sits the vice president of this bank, Junius Spencer Morgan. His brother Henry Sturgis has, since 1928, been a partner in another Morgan bank, Morgan,

Stanley and Company, and a director in the huge concern of General Electric. The present-day sprouts of the oligarchic empire of Morgan, evidently, do not shine with talents -- they strive to keep themselves in the shadow and occupy secondary posts in their banks. The posts of presidents and chairmen of the board of the Morgan banks are held by more experienced executives of Wall Street, such as Whitney, Leffingwell, Alexander, and others.

For the purposes of advertising, the press agents of the Morgans have spread a "romantic" legend about their origin. They assert that these magnates of Wall Street trace their ancestry to the pirate Henry Morgan, who a century and a half ago plundered English and Spanish ships in the Gulf of Mexico and the Carribbean Sea. One of the Morgans, John Pierpoint the younger, even named his steam yacht -- to all appearance recalling a miniature cruiser -- "The Corsair" (The Pirate).

More objective research has dispelled this legend. It has turned out that the founder of the banking dynasty, Joseph Morgan, was only an owner of taverns, inns, and stagecoach lines in Hartford (state of Connecticut). The first insurance company in the USA was created by this Morgan. His son, Junius Spencer Morgan, entered trade; the stores and factories of his firm were located in New York and Boston. In 1853, the young Junius Morgan took all of his capital with him to London. There, he soon became a partner in the banking house of Peabody and Company. Within ten years the American newcomer had forced out his English patron; the banking firm began to be called "J. P. Morgan." It exists to this day as a branch of the New York bank of the Morgans and is called Morgan, Greenfell and Company.

The first executive of the basic American branch of the dynasty of the Morgans was John Pierpont Morgan I. His father, Junius Spencer, sent John Pierpont to New York not long before the start of the civil war in the USA.

The bank of the Morgans in New York was created in 1863. Wars supplied this bank with "primary accumulation." During the period of the civil war between North and South the Morgan bank, through corrupt persons, purchased from the government rifles rejected by the war department, and then sold them to the very same government. This led to a noisy scandal, but it did not touch the Morgan profits. One of Morgan's biographers wrote about this activity of his during a difficult time for the American people: "During the trying days of the civil war, the young Morgan, concentrating strictly on his own affairs, advanced himself slowly but surely. In 1863 he speculated in gold in an extremely unpatriotic way."

* * *

The young banker's complete lack of patriotism was felt not only in this. In 1863, after a number of heavy defeats of the Northern troops, the US Congress passed a law on military conscription. The businessmen and their lackeys seated in Congress introduced into this law a special article permitting rich men of conscription age to supply other recruits in place of themselves. Enterprising businessmen immediately created special offices to seek out young Americans whom need or other misfortunes compelled to undergo the fire of the southern racists for a comparatively small sum. John Pierpont Morgan was also released from military service -- for 300 dollars one of these offices found a lad who was sent into the army in place of the young banker.

More than one young employer who bought himself off in this way -- wrote R. Boyer and G. Moreys, historians of the American labor movement -- discovered that he was fully reimbursed. Looking through the lists published in the newspapers, many of them learned that the poor lads who had gone into the army in their place had laid down their lives on the fields of battle. Three hundred dollars was not high payment for preserving one's life, particularly under conditions when life brought greater and greater profits with every day, to the extent that millions of dollars were spent in the form of military orders.

In 1890, the center of the Morgan financial empire was finally transferred from London to New York, to 23 Wall Street. The crude, powerful, and aggressive John Pierpont Morgan, with a massive head, an enormous mustache, and deeply inset eyes, behaved scornfully toward people. He had almost no friends. Even the paid biographers of Morgan said that he had a "feudal turn of mind."

Expanding his financial empire, Morgan pitilessly destroyed his rivals and competitors. "He fought with the financial pirates of his time, using their own weapons, and, sustaining a victory over them, acquired great influence," one of his biographers wrote about Morgan. Morgan seized the Albany and Susquehanna Railroad from D. Gould and James Fish, great magnates of that time. Making use of a normal economic crisis, he ruined another magnate of Wall Street, a certain Jay Cooke.

By the end of the last century, Morgan had already become a force which was far from small. Granting the American government a private loan of 50 million dollars, he helped it to stabilize state finances. "The government has come under the power of private financiers," American newspapers wrote at that time. Morgan refused to inform the press how much he profited by this operation.

More dollars, more might, more power. Morgan ruins Carnegie, Moore, Gates -- among the largest capitalists of that time. He tears the Northern Pacific Railroad away from Edward Harriman. When, in 1907, a cruel crisis broke out, Morgan, with the aid of complex operations, saved the state

finances which were invested in private banks. In gratitude for this, the government silently consented to his seizure of his recent competitor, the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company. Theodore Roosevelt, the President at the time, approved this transaction, although it represented a clear violation of the so-called "antitrust laws."

Having seized the commanding heights of the American economy, Morgan's banking house was the first of the American banks to begin to invest capital outside the USA. As early as 1870, when the workers of Paris were raising the ideals of the commune in France in a struggle for their rights, and the government fled from Paris to Tours, Junius Spencer Morgan I organized a loan to the French government. After the end of the Franco-Prussian war the bank of J. P. Morgan took part in an international syndicate which profited from the payment of many millions in war indemnities by France.

Since the turn of the century, Morgan's dollars have poured in a broad stream abroad -- into Argentina, Honduras, Bolivia, and Peru. They have penetrated into Europe and Asia. The labor of thousands of people and the natural riches of these countries have become sources of unprecedented enrichment for the American magnates of finance capital.

Not organizational talents, not capacity for invention, not great scientific discoveries, but money, the power of the dollar placed the Morgans at the helm of the administration of entire branches of industry.

American economists calculated in 1957 that the three chief Morgan financial concerns alone -- J. P. Morgan and Co., Guarantee Trust, and Bankers Trust -- now control hundreds of industrial concerns, trusts and companies with a total capital of 106 billion dollars -- about one-tenth of the entire national wealth of the USA. The financial "empire" was created by the Morgans in a bitter struggle for sources of new profits, for new means of exploitation of the toilers. In this struggle their rivals and competitors are inflicting painful blows on them. The Rockefeller bank, Chase Manhattan, through unknown means has acquired part ownership in Morgan's General Electric, and Rockefeller's capital is oozing into the holy of holies of the Morgans -- the 14 billion dollar concern, American Telephone and Telegraph (ATT).

But the Morgans, too, are not behindhand. Their capital is oozing into the Mellon machine-building trust, Westinghouse Electric, into Du Pont's General Motors, and even...into the patrimony of the Rockefellers, Standard Oil of New Jersey.

A brawl has not ceased, either, for rule within the apparatus of the state administration of the USA. Representatives of the Rockefeller oil monopolies have expelled Morgan representatives from many government posts in Washington.

But the last decisive word in this struggle has not yet been said. The Morgans in essence have engulfed the Boston financial grouping, they are approaching the Giannini banking system (Bank of America, on the West Coast), and they have no intention of yielding the reins of state rule to their competitors.

The financial empire of the Morgans contains industrial concerns, and railroads, municipal trusts (mainly electric power and gas), banks and insurance companies. Three-quarter of them belong to the 250 largest concerns of the US. The banking oligarchy of the Morgans uses its control for the brutal exploitation of millions of Americans, which brings it fabulous profits.

The Morgan trusts and concerns, in a number of cases, almost wholly embrace entire branches of industry. United States Steel, the steel trust of the Morgans, produce more than 35 percent of all the steel in the USA. At the disposal of the trust are two shipping companies and 107 ships. The steel trust possesses four railroads and the largest company for cement production in the USA. To it belong the largest iron ore beds in the US. -- Mesabi (state of Minnesota). Nowadays this Morgan trust is closing in on the reserves of iron ore in Venezuela (Cerro-Bolivar Mountain), and the ore of Canadian Labrador.

The first president of United States Steel was a judge by the name of E. Gary. The workers hated him; they said of him that he "saw a blast furnace for the first time only after his death -- in hell." Gary was replaced by Myron Taylor who was subsequently the personal envoy of the President of the US to the Vatican; Taylor was replaced by Edward Stettinius, Jr., who at one time held the post of US Secretary of State. At the time of the creation of the steel trust in 1901, its capital amounted to over one billion dollars. Nowadays that capital exceeds 3.5 billion dollars. This was the first billionaire concern, which laid the foundation of the "billionaires' club" to which 77 of the largest banks and industrial concerns now belong.

Savage terror has always reined in the plants of United States Steel. Company spies and hired criminals have expelled progressive workers and trade-union organizers, have expelled all those who have tried to unite the workers to rally them for a struggle against savage exploitation.

But as early as 1919 American metallurgical workers began to organize themselves into trade unions. In that year, under the leadership of William Z. Foster (subsequently the eminent leader of the Communist Party of the USA) the first general metallurgists strike unfolded, laying the basis for the unification of the workers into a trade union of steel workers.

To this day they remember that strike in America; it has gone down in the history of the US labor movement as the "great strike." Three hundred and sixty-five thousand workers struck in 50 cities; 1.5 million Americans, together with their families, entered into a difficult, tense struggle against the capitalist exploiters. In all, 4,000,000 workers struck in the USA during that year.

For the suppression of the strike, the Morgans threw against the workers troops willingly furnished them by the authorities of the states and the government. At the center of the strike -- the city of Gary in the state of Indiana, which has almost merged now with the suburbs of Chicago -- government troops sent to suppress the strike were commanded by Major General Wood. Hundreds of strikers were beaten and wounded, thousands arrested, and 22 American workers gave their lives in this struggle.

E. Gary, president of United States Steel, frightened by the events of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia, asserted that the goal of the strike was allegedly "the Sovietization of the US metallurgical industry." In answer, the workers cited facts: the unbearable 12-hour working day, and the high prices for objects of primary necessity, prices which had leaped by two times on the average during the participation of the US in the first world war.

Three months of bitter strike struggle brought the workers the main and most valuable thing -- organization, the ability to fight the class enemy in strike battles. The present-day strikes of the steel workers are the most decisive class battles of labor against capital in America.

The present president of the company, Benjamin Fairless, is famous for his savage violence against the workers. During one of the strikes at the plant in Massillon, Fairless drove 500 strike-breakers to the plant, and led them himself in an attack on the strikers. His name is hateful to every worker in the plants of the steel trust of the Morgans.

The electric machine-building trust General Electric, and the grain-milling plants of General Mills, the enterprises of the food industry (General Foods), and the enormous system of electrical communications (American Telephone and Telegraph) have plants in Japan, Germany, France, Italy, Morocco, England, Austria, Belgium, Chili, Spain, Turkey, Sweden, Holland, Argentina, Mexico, Brazil, and Uruguay. Many hundreds of thousands of persons labor in these plants, multiplying the wealth of the Morgans.

The Morgans have long invested their capital in the production of military and strategic raw materials. Their company Kennecott Copper, together with Phelps Dodge and Anaconda Copper Mining, hold in their

hands one third of the copper extracted in the capitalist countries. To the bank of J. P. Morgan and Co. belongs 16 director's posts in trusts of the copper industry. And this is no accident. It is evident that copper has long had enormous significance for military production.

The appearance of a new type of weapon -- atomic -- has opened a new source of enrichment for the Morgans.

The oligarchic group of the Morgans, from the very beginning occupied a ruling position in the development of the atomic armament industry. Together with the concerns of the Du Ponts and the Rockefellers, the Morgans "administer" the enterprises of the atomic industry of the USA.

The system of this "administration" represents a cunning device of the American monopolies, with the aid of which they kill at least three birds with one stone. Understanding what enormous responsibility they would bear in unleashing the armament race, the rulers of the American monopolies managed to have the enterprises of the atomic industry (in which more than 12 billion dollars are already invested) declared the "property of the state." The private capitalist monopolies took on themselves only the "administration" of them. Thus, the atomic armament industry has been built with funds of the American taxpayers, and the monopolies have not had to risk their own capital. The concerns "administering" these plants nominally receive, in all, only one symbolic dollar a year. However, enormous profits fall to them in the guise of payment of expenses of "administration," through the transfer to them of rights to patents to individual processes of atomic production, patents to apparatus, equipment, and so forth. Responsibility for the production of atomic weapons and for the consequences connected with its application is borne by the government, but only formally.

In the field of US atomic armament, the Morgans act not only as suppliers, but also as bosses. The recommendation to use atomic weapons against Japan was adopted by a special committee created under the US War Department in March 1945. The leading role in this committee was played by George Harrison and James Byrnes, who later held the post of US Secretary of State. Harrison at that time was president of the Morgan insurance company, New York Life Insurance. Byrnes, both then and now, is closely connected with the Morgan Newmont Mining Company, occupied in prospecting for uranium and the exploitation of uranium beds. Secretary of War Stimson, who headed that special committee, was closely connected with firms in which Morgan's capital was invested -- the legal firm headed by him had fulfilled important tasks for this banking house and received large fees from it. This is on whom lies the genuine, and not the formal responsibility, for the fate of the victims of Nagasaki and Hiroshima!

A strong chain of Morgan financial ties binds the companies extracting uranium and the government organs for control over atomic raw materials with the banking house of J. P. Morgan and Company. These ties have been partially shown by James Allen, a well-known specialist on American monopolistic associations.

When, in the United States, there was created a government organ -- the Commission on Atomic Energy -- to which the "state" atomic enterprises were subordinated, then a certain John Gustafson, a representative of the Morgan company Newmont Mining, was named director of the atomic raw materials division in this commission. Six out of the eight members of a consultative committee created somewhat later by the government to handle questions of prospecting and extracting atomic raw materials were employees of the Morgans. These were a certain Fred Searles (president of Newmont Mining), A. Gray (the Morgan copper mining company Kennecott Copper), T. Bridgeman (the firm Guggenheim Brothers, closely connected with the Morgan banks), R. McConnell (with ties with Morgan capital through the firm Roxanna Corporation), W. Judson (director of the company Texas Gulf Sulphur, belonging to Newmont Mining and to the Mellons jointly), and also Herman Baruch, director of one of the Morgan mining companies and brother of the well-known Morgan financier Bernard Baruch.

Within the very shortest period the Morgan monopolies have grasped within their hands the richest sources of atomic raw material. Now they are striving for control over uranium ore beds throughout the entire capitalist world. A main weapon of theirs in this struggle is the international concern International Nickel Company, in which the Morgans rule jointly with the financial groups of the DuPonts, the Rockefellers, the Mellons, and the British Imperial Chemical Trust. The interests of the Morgans in this concern are defended by such leaders as R. [Isaac Cubitt Raymond?] Atkin, vice president of the banking house of J. P. Morgan and Company as well as Lewis Douglas, a representative of the concern Phelps Dodge-Morgan, who for a long time held the post of U. S. ambassador to London. In addition, on the board of International Nickel Company, Bell Telephone System. The head of the nickel-uranium concern International Nickel, R. Stanley, is simultaneously a director of Morgan's United States Steel and General Electric.

The greedy hands of the Morgans stretch out also toward the mineral riches of Africa. The "Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa," in which a prominent role belongs to the capital of the Morgans, through dozens of smaller mining companies which are subordinate to it financially, holds in its hands a considerable part of the mineral riches of the Congo, including uranium deposits. Moreover, the raw materials division of the government commission on atomic energy, in which, as has been shown above, the representatives of the Morgan monopolies rule, has concluded an agreement with the government of the South African Union granting the monopolies of the U.S., and above all the Morgans, a considerable portion of control over South African uranium deposits.

The monopolistic position of the Morgans in the field of atomic production, a position which they share with only a small number of the other of the largest monopolistic groupings of the US, has permitted them to seize the commanding heights in other fields of atomic energy as well. The chief representative of the Morgans in this field is their electro-machine-building company, General Electric, which "manages" a plant for the production of plutonium in Hanford with a value of 350 million dollars. General Electric has spent another 400 million dollars on additional construction and expansion of this plant. George Prout, vice-president of General Electric and manager of the atomic plant in Hanford, has set forth the Morgan program in the field of atomic armament as follows: to put an end to handicraft methods in the production of atomic weapons, and to place that production on a modern industrial basis.

To the Morgans there belongs also the renowned Knowle Laboratory, which is concerned with experiments in the field of adapting atomic engines for military purposes (for submarines, military airplanes, and so forth). The Morgans are also using their ruling position in this field to establish their monopoly in the field of peaceful application of atomic energy, which they are hindering, inasmuch as the electric power companies are in their hands.

It is therefore not surprising that the representatives of the Morgans have a place on all the committees named by the government of the USA to work out plans of "international control" (in essence, the rule of the American monopolies) in the field of atomic weapons and atomic energy.

Included on the consultative committee which at one time prepared the Acheson-Lillienthal report that laid the basis of the well-known "Baruch plan" were Harold Winny, vice-president of General Electric, G. [Cherster, Irving?] Barnard, president of Morgan's New York Bell Telephone, and other representatives of companies tied with the banking house of Morgan. Fred Searles, president of Newmont Mining, was on the US delegation in the UN for negotiations on questions of atomic energy. Bernard Baruch who headed the delegation, had long been connected with the Morgan mining companies.

That delegation tried to drag through the UN plans for the creation of an "international organ" possessing all the atomic enterprises in the world, an organ in which American -- above all Morgan -- monopolies would rule. Such plans are still being advanced in order to torpedo the establishment of genuine international control over atomic energy, and to obstruct the banning of the use of atomic weapons: the American monopolies categorically object to such banning.

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Like other magnates of finance capital of the US, the Morgans are not content with their role of manufacturers, industrialists, and bankers. In order to secure the greatest possible profits for themselves, they seize the apparatus of state administration of the country, they dictate their will to the political leaders and legislators.

"We (that is, above all the Morgans -- V. M.) are no longer only industrialists and merchants of electrical equipment" boasted Charles E. [Edward?] Wilson, president of the Morgan concern General Electric in September 1949. "We play a significant role in science, in education, in the government, and in social progress."

Both parties of the American bourgeoisie -- the Republican and the Democratic parties -- secure the political power of the monopolistic capital of the USA. The leading hierarchy of these parties is in the service of the largest financial oligarchies of the USA. It is precisely they who rule in these parties, who determine their policy, and who advance their own henchmen to the highest posts in the state.

Morgan's capital has brought more than one politician into the White House, to the post of president of the US. Theodore Roosevelt -- who was virtually the most aggressive representative of the American monopolies to occupy the White House -- was a henchman of the Morgans. To him belongs the saying: "Speak softly and carry a big stick." These catchwords have long become the motto of the foreign policy of American imperialism.

The well-known American journalist Landberg wrote: "Theodore Roosevelt was raised by the Morgan clique from the first stages to the very height of his political career... When one studies Theodore Roosevelt's two terms as president it becomes obvious that, thanks to his assistance, this period was a period of the greatest flourishing of the firm J. P. Morgan and Co., and of its clients... The evidence of this is irrefutable."

To deceive the voters, Theodore Roosevelt made demagogic speeches in which he "destroyed" the magnates of Wall Street. But to strengthen his ties with finance capital, he gave secret dinners for Morgan in the White House.

President Coolidge was, according to the testimony of the American journalist Landberg, "simply a marionette," a "henchman of John Pierpont Morgan." In 1933, one of the committees of the American Senate established that Coolidge enjoyed great privileges in the bank of J. P. Morgan and Co. With the aid of that bank, the man who was then President bought stock of different companies at large discounts. Thus was bought the influence of the banks of Wall Street over the entire policy of the country, foreign and domestic.

The Republican President Herbert Hoover was also a henchman of Morgan in the White House. Hoover was placed in the government apparatus of the USA after the first world war on the recommendation of one of Morgan's partners, a certain Thompson. In the government headed by Hoover were representatives of the banking house of J. P. Morgan and Co. Among them were Henry Stimson, Secretary of State, and S. Adams, Secretary of the Navy. Hoover's chief advisers on questions of foreign policy were Morgan's associates in his bank, D. Morrow and T. Lamont.

The White House in Washington was linked with Morgan's office at 23 Wall Street in New York by a direct telephone connection. Through this telephone line there came to the White House "advice" which sounded like orders.

Sherman Adams, a very close relative of Henry Sturgis Morgan, director of many trusts and concerns connected through the Boston group with the Morgans, is presently one of the chief political advisers of the White House.

Many direct representatives of the banking house of the Morgans occupy leading posts in the apparatus administering the machine of American diplomacy. US Assistant Secretary of State John Perkins is the son of a Morgan partner. For a long time the post of US Ambassador to England was held by Gifford, a Morgan partner. The textile manufacturer Robert Stevens, former Secretary of the Army, is connected with the Morgan concerns, and so on. Carrying out the will of the largest oligarchic groups of US finance capital, these people lead the country along the path of reaction, the path of an armament race and preparation of a new war.

In order to plunge the people into the abyss of military adventures, it is necessary to deceive them, to make them senseless through malicious propaganda. For this, the Morgans need not only police, courts, prisons and soldiers. They need skilful demagogues and deceivers, people propagandizing their "ideas," people capable of creating in Americans the notions, ideas, tastes and aspirations necessary to Wall Street. A widespread system of hired propaganda serves this purpose, existing on the money of the monopolies and acting according to its order.

In the USA there are no large radio companies, publishing houses, or newspapers which are not tied in with the monopolies of Wall Street or which could be independent of them. Here are a few facts. Within the sphere of Morgan capital is the publishing house, Curtis Publishing Company, and the publishing company, McCall Corporation. John Cowles, the publisher of the magazine Look, is a director of the Morgan concern General Electric. H. Luce's publishing concern, which puts out the archreactionary magazines Time, Life, and Fortune, was created with the money of the Morgans and is closely connected with them.

The largest American companies in radio broadcasting (Radio Corporation of America) and in motion pictures (RKO -- "Radio Keith-Orpheum", Warner Brothers, and others) are controlled by the Morgan and Rockefeller banks and are financially dependent on them.

How Wall Streets conducts propaganda for reaction, fascism, and war is clearly visible from the example of, say, the magazine Colliers.

This magazine in a "special issue", in October 1951, depicted the fantastic details of an armed occupation of the Soviet Union by American neo-Malbruckians; they dream about such an occupation both asleep and awake in Wall Street.

The filthy dish of the editors of Colliers aroused enormous indignation throughout the entire world. It compelled even those who at times have silently listened to the militaristic propaganda of the Morgan literary day laborers to say a word of protest.

* * *

The great American satirist Mark Twain, who hated American imperialism with all the strength of his great soul, and who boldly unmasked its monstrous crimes, ironically wrote, unmasking the wretched ideology of capital, an ideology of bloody profit:

"Let us pray. Oh God, help us tear their soldiers to pieces with our shells, help us sow their flowering fields with the bodies of their patriots, help us destroy their peaceful homes with a hurricane of fire: help us break with inconsolable grief the hearts of widows who are not guilty of anything; help us deprive them of shelter and compel them to wander with their children in rags, without refuge, across the ravaged land, suffering from hunger and thirst."

And this is what Thomas W. Lamont, Morgan's chief partner, said in his speech at the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences in Philadelphia in 1915:

"If the war continues so long that we shall come to occupy such a position," (under which the USA "would be turned into a creditor of the entire world" -- V. M.), "and if we have sufficient resources to cope with this task, then we inevitably would be turned from a debtor country into a creditor country, and such growth will sooner or later result in the fact that the dollar, instead of the pound sterling, will become international exchange unit." Lamont cynically declared that protraction of the war has "the most important financial significance for the country."

War and imperialist aggression have always served as a source of enormous gain, of monstrous enrichment for the monopolies of Wall Street.

When one of the most bloody pages in the history of imperialism opened, and the deadly thunder of weapons of the first world war resounded in the fields of Europe, an atmosphere of joyful excitement ruled in Wall Street. A time of military business had arrived -- the most profitable business for the Morgans and their colleagues -- bankers, industrialists, landowners.

As early as the first few months after the start of the war, the banking house of J. P. Morgan and Co. sent to Europe Morgan's partner, Henry Davison, to negotiate the financing of military orders. The banking house of Morgan became the main trade representative of the Entente countries in America. Morgan's agents bought up everything that could be needed by the warring powers -- from munitions and ammunition to provisions and canned meat -- thus gaining enormous commissions.

Sixty Wall Street banks took part in these operations of the Morgans. During the period preceding the entry of the US into the first world war, the banking house of Morgan granted loans of 1.5 billion dollars to England and France alone.

In America they say: the heart of a banker is where his money is. The magnates of Wall Street, their henchmen and their agents attentively followed the fate of their loans, percentages, and dividends. When conditions on the fronts were not going well for England and France -- the main debtors to Wall Street -- and the billions of dollars invested by the American financiers in the war appeared to be threatened. Wall Street decided to intervene. All the more, since direct participation in the war opened perspectives for still greater profit.

Walter Haynes Page, the US Ambassador to England, telegraphed President Wilson on 5 March 1917: "The international financial situation is threatening for the financial and industrial prospects of the United States... The danger of a complete breach of Franco-American exchange is approaching. An inevitable consequence would be the sharp reduction of orders by all the allied governments and the practically complete cessation of transatlantic trade. As a result, a crisis would begin in the USA... If the United States declares war on Germany, then...the USA would continue to receive profit continuously, and would expand its trade for a number of years..." "The only way of preserving the present advantageous position of the US in trade, and of averting a crisis, is in declaring war on Germany," Page concluded. The ambassador was connected with the Morgan banks in the closest way.

To make the dollar the master of the world -- this is the task which Wall Street posed for itself even then. Under the roofs of the Wall Street skyscrapers they dreamed not of peace, but of a long, profitable war, calculated to establish the world rule of the American bankers.

"We are entering the war at the order of the 'golden calf'," declared Senator Norris. "Soon, we shall place the dollar sign on the American flag."

To Washington streamed bankers, industrialists, factory-owners, speculators and camp followers in frock coats and dress shirts. Government posts were seized by bankers from Wall Street, captains of industry, and enterprising businessmen. They were helped by ties with leaders of the political parties, who well understood from whom and in what sums the checks came to them to carry on election campaigns.

The leadership of the war industry apparatus was in the hands of the Morgan henchman Bernard Baruch. Leading posts in the system of the administration of war industry were occupied by Walter Gifford, vice-president of Morgan's American Telephone and Telegraph Company, D. A. Farrell, president of Morgan's United States Steel, John Ryan, president of Anaconda Copper Corporation, and others. Edward Stetinius Sr., a partner of J. P. Morgan, was Assistant Secretary of War. Another Morgan associate -- Russell Leffingwell -- was until very recently president of the bank of J. P. Morgan and Co., and during the first world war was named Assistant Secretary of the Treasury. Dozens of other representatives of the greatest financial oligarchies of the US have held the most important posts in the governmental apparatus.

These merchants from Wall Street controlled the entire war industry of the United States. They distributed profitable war orders. On them depended the distribution of short-supply raw materials, fuel, and labor. Wall Street threw ten billion dollars of the taxpayers' money annually into the cauldron of war.

Wall Street profited from the first world war as from no other war before that time. Direct military expenditures of the US from April 1917 through November 1919 amounted to 35.5 billion dollars. From January 1916, when Wall Street began to prepare itself for entry into the war, through July 1921, when military production was stopped in the US, the profits of the corporations amounted to 38 billion dollars.

Enormous sums accrued to the largest imperialist plunderers. The government of the USA paid out 400 million dollars to Morgan's bank to cover loans issued by Morgan to the English government. The Morgan concern United States Steel increased its profits by twelve times in the first two years of the war. The blood profits of other monopolies of Wall Street also grew sharply.

Hundreds of millionaires appeared in the USA during the first world war. In America they called them the "war millionaires."

The United States, which at one time had owed money to Europe, now became a world creditor: by 1921, European countries owed it 15 billion dollars. America alone gained from the war. It turned from a country having a mass of debts to a country to whom all were indebted. The billionaires of Wall Street profited from the war more than anybody.

The arms were stacked, the first world war had ended. Included in the American delegation, emissaries of Morgan were sent to the Versailles Conference. Baruch and Thomas Lamont took active part in working out the Versailles treaty. The American press blundered one day, revealing that the text of the peace treaty had come to the bank of J. P. Morgan and Co. for approval before it was presented for ratification to the US Senate.

The ink had not managed to dry on this treaty when American banks, and above all the bank of J. P. Morgan, undertook the restoration of the military and industrial potential of Germany.

J. P. Morgan himself took part in the working out the "Young plan," as a member of the international committee of experts. This plan, which received its title from the name of its author -- Owen D. Young, chairman of the board of Morgan's General Electric -- provided for the financing of the rebirth of the German military machine. From 1924 through 1929, Wall Street granted Germany loans and credits of four billion dollars for these purposes. A considerable part of these funds was granted by the Morgan banks. The preparation of war, of new profit on mass killings, death and destruction, went on at full speed.

The second world war brought the Morgans and the other financial oligarchs of the USA new profits. At once, into Washington there streamed representatives of the largest monopolies; at once, they seized the apparatus of administration of the war industry; at once, a bitter struggle began for war orders, for profit. The profit curve at once began to creep upward sharply.

It is not surprising therefore that the end of the second world war was greeted in Wall Street as a deadly threat to the profits of the monopolies. Large capital decreed a "cold war" an armaments race, and preparation for a new slaughter.

* * *

The American working class does not calmly put up with the policy which Wall Street dictates. It fights against this policy.

The wave of the strike movement reached its greatest height (two million strikers) precisely in 1952, when the drawn-out war in Korea had sharply worsened tension in international relations and had increased the danger of war.

The rulers of Wall Street know of these sentiments of the American people and fear them. They strengthen reactionary terror. The Morgans and their agents and representatives play a considerable role in this.

At the beginning of the 1930s, there had been created in the House of Representatives of the American Congress a committee for the investigation of so-called "un-American activities." The committee paid almost no attention at all to investigating the truly un-American activity of the Hitlerite fascist underground in the USA during the war. But it became the center of bitter persecution of all organizations that were in any way progressive, and of individual social and political leaders. When, after the war, Karl Mundt, a member of the House of Representatives from the state of South Dakota, entered this committee, he turned for instructions -- according to the words of the American journal The New Republic -- to John W. Davis. In a special letter Mundt asked that he be given precise instructions as to what the committee should concern itself with. The instructions which Mundt received from Davis formed the basis of the work of the committee.

Who is this John W. Davis, and why is it precisely to him that the American super-reactionaries turn for advice and schooling?

He is the chief legal consultant of Morgan's bank. By the grace of the Morgans, he was at one time placed in the post of Assistant Attorney General, and then was US Ambassador to Great Britain. This is what Davis said of himself: "We have an excellent clientele. What lawyer does not envy me? In the list of my clients are included J. P. Morgan and Co., (the Erie Railroad, the Guaranty Trust Company, Standard Oil Company, and others of the most eminent American concerns. These are the greatest organizations, and I am happy to work for them... We are for large capital." Davis is one of the chief authors of the anti-labor Taft-Hartley law.

The assistants of the American monopolies are trying -- not for the first time -- to inflict a regime of black reaction on the American people. They have always supported pro-fascist organizations in the USA. On the eve of the second world war there were 109 of these in the US, and five million Americans were connected with them. H. V. Prentis, then president of the National Association of Manufacturers, indeed admitted -- revealing the plans of the large monopolies -- that American capital possibly "would turn to some variety of disguised fascist dictatorship."

The henchmen of the Morgan monopolies take active part in subversive diversionary activity directed against the countries of the camp of peace, democracy and socialism. One of the organizers of the notorious committee "Crusade for Freedom," on which the radio transmitters of the "Voice of Free Europe" relies for support, was the not-unknown General Lucius Clay, president of Morgan's Continental Can Company. These

organizers led the "crusade" of the monopolies for the restoration of the power of the capitalists and landowners in the socialist countries; together with other emissaries and agents of American intelligence, they provoked the fascist putsch against the people's authority in Hungary. On them fell the blood of the patriots of new, free Hungary, spilled by the Hungarian fascists who were agents of the American espionage services.

* * *

The hired propagandists of the imperialist monopolies of the US knock themselves out to disguise the true reactionary role of large monopolistic capital, to hide the rags of the bourgeois democratic dictatorship of this capital ruling in the USA. But life and daily reality do not leave one stone of these false assertions standing. Facts -- stubborn, unalterable facts -- unmask the rule of the uncrowned kings of America and their responsibility for that path, dangerous for the American people and for the cause of peace, along which the lords of capital are leading the USA.

Oil, Blood, and Dollars

O. Feofanov

When American bombers rise into the heaven and American tanks creep along foreign soil, dollars pour into the safes of the Rockefellers.

When in the oil-refining plants of Arabia workers perish under the weight of hard labor, in another hemisphere, in New York, in the office of the Rockefellers, they count up the dividends without any emotion.

When the American fleet ploughs the waters of the Taiwan Straits, insolently trampling on the rights of the Chinese people to the territory which has been theirs since time immemorial -- the island of Taiwan -- into the current account of the Rockefellers are entered new profits.

Oil and war are business for the Rockefellers.

* * *

In the center of New York, in a narrow strip of Manhattan between West 48th and West 51st Streets and Fifth and Sixth Avenues, there rises a group of skyscrapers erected with the money of John D. Rockefeller Jr. It is no accident that these skyscrapers are called "Rockefeller Center": here is the residence of the American "oil king." The black shadow of the Rockefeller palaces extends far beyond the bounds of the United States of America.

Here, at 30 Rockefeller Plaza, is located the center of administration of the six largest companies, controlling more than half the oil industry, headed by the renowned Standard Oil of New Jersey. From here the greedy hands of the Rockefellers stretch out to Arabia and Venezuela, to Iran and Canada.

Here too, in the center of New York, the transactions of the family banking house of the Rockefellers, the Chase Manhattan Bank, are carried out in quiet offices. This bank, with a capital of almost 8 billion dollars, is one of the largest in the capitalist world.

Included in the financial empire of the "oil kings," besides the Chase Manhattan Bank, are also the insurance companies Metropolitan Life Insurance and Equitable Life Insurance. The operations of these companies are extremely varied -- from the renting of railroad cars, to machinations ruining farmers of the South who have been obliged to mortgage their lands.

The Rockefellers make profit also on the daily needs of Americans. If an American smokes a cigarette, buys a sandwich or a package of meat, or drinks a glass of Coca-Cola, he increases the wealth of the "oil king" of America. Many other trusts and concerns in the USA are linked to the throne of the "oil king" with a dollar chain. They all serve one and the same goal of the uncrowned autocrats of America -- unrestrained profit through the exploitation, robbery, and deceit of the workers.

How did the dynasty of the "oil kings" arise? What does it represent? Where did its infinite wealth come from? Why does it -- together with a little group of other oligarchs of Wall Street -- rule America, and propel the affairs of the capitalist world?

The founder of the dynasty, John Davison Rockefeller I, at one time a government clerk, and later a cashier in a private firm, always -- according to his own admission -- thirsted "to make money." Much later when the income of this oil magnate exceeded the fortune of the English royal family, he said to reporters, "I believe that the capacity to make money is a gift from above, like a capability in art, music, or literature... Being gifted with this capacity, I consider it my duty to make more and more money..."

* * *

In 1859, the first oil well was drilled in the USA. Soon after this, Rockefeller organized the Standard Oil Company in the state of Ohio. A monopolistic position in the oil business, securing for him the title of "oil king," did not come at once. It was brought about by the cold-blooded ruining of rivals and competitors, by money-grabbing which had become the purpose of life, by the ability to profit from the labor of

others. By the time Rockefeller had become the first billionaire in the world, an entire clique of "robber barons" had become firmly consolidated behind him. That clique follows the Rockefellers from generation to generation.

John Davison Rockefeller Jr. resembles his father not only in name, but also in habit. He persistently continues to multiply the Rockefeller capital.

In the bitter struggle for profitable economic positions, the uncrowned autocrats of America are guided by the laws of the jungle: the victor devours the vanquished. In Wall Street such means of destroying competitors is diffidently called "merger." The bloodless but cruel struggle among the monopolies of the US does not cease for an instant. The journal Fortune, organ of American large capital, wrote in November 1954 that there takes place in the USA on the average of 45 mergers of American industrial concerns per month, and that annually dozens of small companies are engulfed by larger competitors in the country.

In recent years, the Rockefellers and the groups connected with them have considerably expanded their positions at the expense of Morgan, their most dangerous rival and competitor.

In economics -- writes V. Perlo, an expert on the American monopolies, in his new book The Empire of Large Finance Capital, published in New York in August 1957 -- this displacement is related to the flourishing of the oil cartel, and its conversion into the largest, ruling source of profits in the world. In politics, this displacement is associated with the conversion of the government of the USA into the most militarized and geographically expansionist force, as a new, disguised form of colonial empire.

While half a century ago the steel trusts (Morgan) possessed 30.8 percent of all the capital of the 100 largest trusts and concerns of the US, and the oil trusts (Rockefeller) only 7.4 percent, forty years later 28 percent of the capital has already become the share of the oil companies, and 11.9 percent that of steel. In 1954, reckoned among the largest concerns of the US were 14 oil concerns with a total capital of 23 billion dollars, 8 steel-processing concerns (capital of 9 billion dollars), three automobile (8 billion) and six chemical (5.5 billion dollars).

The growth of the capital of the Rockefeller group is accompanied by a strengthening of its political influence. Its henchmen and emissaries now rule in the high governmental apparatus of the US. But the Morgans do not intend to yield their positions without a battle. Experts on the American monopolies predict new, bitter encounters between these largest monopolistic oligarchies of the US.

In 1957, the Rockefeller oligarchy of American oil industrialists controlled a capital of 61.4 billion dollars. The precise size of the Rockefeller fortune is a state secret of America: the American press noted at one time that special measures are taken so that data concerning the largest fortunes of the US are not published.

The Rockefellers do not buy yachts worth many millions, like the Vanderbilt magnates; they do not install doorknobs and water faucets of pure gold in their palaces. But love for luxury is not alien to them. The play house where the children of the Rockefellers frolic cost a half million dollars. Bourgeois newspapers, willingly "forgetting" about such "trifles," relate with tears of sympathy how the children of the billionaire earn pocket money by raising rabbits, cleaning boots, and even by destroying flies at ten cents per hundred.

The Rockefellers do not like to speak of their capital. But no one has long since believed the words of Rockefeller the elder, "God gave me money." The people want to know the truth. And the truth about the wealth of the Rockefellers consists of dark deeds, thousands of ruined families, hundreds of thousands of workers in many countries of the world tormented by work beyond their strength. The truth is the concealed history of many wars -- it is oil stained with blood.

John D. Rockefeller II does not direct his wide empire along. He has five sons -- John D. III, Lawrence, David, Winthrop, and Nelson. They are all large capitalists. Each has his role, his department. Only Winthrop has not become famous for anything, unless one counts a scandalous divorce case.

The task of John III is to personify the imaginery "philanthropists" of the family. Bourgeois newspapers paint him as the embodiment of "modesty" and even "shyness." So that he may consolidate his reputation for "philanthropy," John III heads a council of guardians of a Rockefeller philanthropic fund. From time to time he is entrusted with more responsible missions.

Not as a tourist, but as a very large creditor, John D. III was present in the American delegation at the signing of the San Francisco treaty with Japan; it is evident that this country is enveloped by a network of branches of the Chase Manhattan Bank.

Lawrence Rockefeller, a middle-aged gentleman with a square beard, is well-known at the New York Stock Exchange. He is one of the directors of the Chase Manhattan Bank.

In this same bank, in the capacity of a vice president, the fourth offspring, David is striving. Behind the concrete walls of the bank the Rockefeller brothers jealously guard the interests of their oil dynasty.

David Rockefeller directs the international operations of this bank. The bourgeois press advertises him as the owner of the best collection of insects in the world, and as possessing extremely gentlemanly manners. But when he enters the office of the bank and the steel doors close behind his back, the lover of butterflies turns into a greedy seeker after dollars. The hired biographers have every basis for calling him "the personification of the virtues of Wall Street."

The American press advertises Nelson, the fifth and most active of the young Rockefellers, as an "entrepreneur of culture" and a "patron of the muses". He is one of the directors of the Museum of Modern Art in New York. But considerably better known is his activity in the diplomatic field. Included in the American delegation to the conference organizing the UN in San Francisco in 1945, he did everything, even then, to worsen relations between the USA and the USSR. When former US President Truman proclaimed the notorious "four point" program, with its purpose of strengthening the penetration of American capital into the colonial and dependent countries, Nelson Rockefeller became a leader of the government organ to carry out this program. Should one be surprised at the fact that the Rockefeller bank held first place on the list of 54 American banks which received financial jobs from the government for US operations abroad?

Half of all private foreign capital investments made after the Second World War have long been those of the American oil companies. In 1953, more than half of all foreign profits received by American private investors entered the safes of the oil companies. This, of course, to a considerable degree has been the doing of that same Nelson Rockefeller.

The Rockefellers have long nourished an irresistible attraction for the countries of Latin America: the provocative smell of oil reaches them from the South American continent. Therefore, Nelson Rockefeller, who had long been trying to turn South America into his family estate, was at one time placed at the head of the so-called "Bureau of Inter-American Affairs."

For a long time Nelson Rockefeller held the post of special assistant to the President for foreign policy matters. He took part in cabinet meetings and meetings of the most important US government organ, the National Security Council. This council works out and directs the entire policy of the United States.

Nelson is not the only "arm" of the oil magnates in the American government.

Attorney General [minister of Justice] Herbert Brownell Jr. is a henchman of the "oil king." At his order, a court suit against the oil monopolies of the US, accused of violating the Sherman Antitrust Act, was

discontinued. Brownell has labored much to unleash, in the country, baiting of the Communist Party and of many progressive and liberal organizations in the USA.

Lewis L. Strauss, the head of the Atomic Energy Commission, is a financial advisor and director of the "Rockefeller Brothers" firm.

John Foster Dulles, who holds the post of U. S. Secretary of State, is a co-partner in the law firm of Sullivan and Cromwell. That firm has long specialized in defending the interests of the largest monopolies of Wall Street in general, and of the "oil king" of America in particular. And can it be otherwise? It is evident that John Foster Dulles was at one time a member of the board of Rockefeller's Standard Oil of New Jersey. The attraction of the post of Secretary of State (Minister of Foreign Affairs) for the Rockefellers is understandable. This post makes it possible for them to interfere in the foreign policy of the USA, to give it the direction necessary for them. Edwin Johnson, a senator from the state of Colorado, indeed declared in 1947 in Congress that the oil companies of the US are making broad use of the State Department to obtain oil concessions in the Middle East.

"The policy of the State Department," the newspaper Daily Compass wrote in this regard several years ago, "is born in the offices of Standard Oil. From there it is transmitted to the Department of Defense, where the heads of the Army and Navy approve it. When this policy gets to the State Department, it becomes the policy of the government and is supposed to be confirmed by Congress quickly and without any changes whatever. When an order for laws designed to protect the interests of the oil kings comes from the Rockefeller dynasty itself, the entire Congress -- from the small to the great -- comes to "attention" and does what the bosses order it to do."

Recently Senator O'Mahoney confirmed this impartial truth about America. With the purpose of placing his rivals -- the Republicans -- in an unfavorable light, O'Mahoney, a representative of the Democratic Party in Congress, undertook an investigation of the influence of the US monopolies on the foreign policy of the country. On 22 February 1957 he made an extremely eloquent statement to a correspondent of one of the newspaper trusts of America, the essence of which amounted to an admission of the fact that the large oil companies of the USA determine US policy in the Near East.

The Senator related, for example, that on 13 August 1956, that is, three days before the start of the London meeting on the Suez question, Secretary of State Dulles and his assistant at that time, H. Hoover Jr, consulted in the State Department in Washington with representatives of the large American oil companies on the position of the USA at the meeting in London. Dulles gave, at this consultation, firm guarantees that the

interests of these companies would determine the policy of the State Department in the Suez question. Present at the consultation were representatives of Rockefeller's Standard Oil of New Jersey, ARAMCO, Standard Oil of California, and others. In his conversation with the correspondent, O'Mahoney was obliged to admit the existence of "a close alliance between the leaders of the oil corporations that operate in the Middle East and the State Department in carrying out foreign policy in this region."

* * *

In recent years the Rockefellers have been taking hold of ever newer sources of oil. Rockefeller's oil companies are unceremoniously crowding out their English colleagues in the Near East. They have already deprived them of domination in the extraction of Near Eastern oil.

The heavy hand of the "oil king" of America is also stretched over the French possessions in Africa. When, in, 1949, representatives of the largest American banks created a special committee for the "stimulation and facilitation of the development of the overseas territories of France," Winthrop Aldrich, a close relative of John D. Rockefeller Jr., was at the head of the committee. In subsequent years the Rockefellers have taken over one more important post -- that of Ambassador to England, represented by that same Aldrich, who was replaced in this post by another henchman of the Rockefellers, D. H. Whitney. Before Aldrich, this post was held by Lewis Douglas, a representative of Morgan.

The "oil king" is consolidating his rule in Latin America, from whence the USA receives up to ninety percent of its oil imports. In Venezuela alone, almost three-fourths of the extracted oil belongs to Americans, who have obtained almost a billion dollars in profit there in six years. The Rockefellers are strengthening their penetration into West Germany. The share of American capital in the extraction of oil in that country reached 62 percent in 1950. In the year 1951 alone, American capital in the oil industry of West Germany amounted to 172 million marks. The capital of the Rockefeller companies also plays a significant role in the oil industry of Japan.

One of the basic methods of knocking out profits used by the Rockefellers is that of openly predatory speculation. Here is an example: the net cost of one barrel of oil in the countries of the Near East does not exceed ten cents; in the USA it amounts to about 80 cents. The oil is sold, however, at a price of \$1.75 per barrel. This makes it possible for the oil profiteers to put hundreds of millions of dollars into their pockets annually. The one oil company of ARAMCO alone, in Arabia, received about 425 million dollars of profit in 1952, or about 1.4 dollars of profit from each barrel of oil. This is undisguised robbery, not only of the countries of the Near and Middle East, where the Rockefellers obtain the free oil, but also of the European countries, where the oil monopolists supply oil at fabulous prices.

The oligarchy of oil industrialists is continually perfecting the process of squeezing out profits. In enterprises of Rockefeller's ARAMCO, less than two percent of the amount received from the sale of oil goes for the wages of the workers. In Venezuela, Standard Oil pays the oil workers five times less than workers in the USA. Therefore its profits per company worker in Venezuela are over four times greater than those in the USA.

At one time, when seeking a confidential assistant for himself, John D. Rockefeller I cynically declared that he needed a man capable of "ruining thousands of families." "In one word," he boastfully added, "I am seeking a second Rockefeller." It is difficult to define the predatory essence of capitalism more precisely and more cynically.

The American people hate the plunderer billionaires. The Rockefellers know this and fear the people's anger. Therefore, they spend enormous sums on special advertising agents. The capitalist press assiduously spreads the myth of the Rockefellers as benefactors. The bourgeois press depicts with tears of compassion the sacrifices of the "oil king" for philanthropic purposes. They speak, write, and all but sing songs in the US about the Rockefeller "philanthropic funds." But the motives of the ostentatious Rockefeller "unselfishness" are extremely selfish. The dynasties of the "oil kings" are annoyed by taxes on their colossal profits. Moreover, in the USA, inheritance taxes also exist. And lo, the inventive lawyers of the monopolies found a way out for their bosses. They proposed to create a philanthropic fund, free of taxes. This hypocritical artifice of the "oil king" has evoked a storm of praise in the corrupt press.

The Rockefeller "philanthropic fund" is nothing other than his own purse, in which the "oil king" can keep part of his capital without paying taxes.

The money in the fund is managed by a "council of trustees" consisting of representatives of the largest monopolies -- mainly Rockefeller's. Among them are John McCloy, former American High Commissioner in West Germany, Robert Lovett, former Secretary of Defense, and others. In 1950 John Foster Dulles, who had been a member of this council since 1935, became chairman of the "council of trustees". Now heading the fund is the oldest son of the "oil king" of America.

Out of the Rockefellers' philanthropic fund are financed jobs involving the creation of new types of armament. The "oil kings" display special interest in the atomic bomb. "Without the aid of Rockefeller," the magazine Colliers wrote in 1951, "the United States would have been without the atomic bomb during the second world war or even now." As the American press has stated, the most important research connected with the creation of the atomic weapon was conducted at Columbia, Princeton, and other

American universities, financed by Rockefeller. At California University, work on the splitting of the atom was conducted with Rockefeller's money. According to the testimony of Colliers, an important discovery in the field of the atomic weapon was made at Chicago University, which was founded by Rockefeller and which received considerable sums from him for work in the field of atomic weapons.

In 1950, John D. Rockefeller II travelled to West Germany for negotiations with the German concern I. G. Farben Industrie on drawing up a contract for research in the field of atomic energy. In 1953, the Rockefellers bought up the stock of the largest uranium mines in the Belgian Congo.

Hidden behind the payments from the philanthropic Rockefeller fund into the tills of the universities, are avaricious calculations. With the aid of these payments, the system of higher education is subordinated to the interests of large capital.

The Rockefellers display considerable interest in higher educational institutions. Within their walls, the Wall Street moneybags want to train for themselves servants of monopolistic capital. For this, they name their own representatives as "trustees" of the universities.

"The trustees," it is said in the Charter of Columbia University, "always keep complete authority in the field of the direction and guidance of the entire educational process... They choose the president of the university...they name the professors and teachers..."

Columbia University in New York has long enjoyed donations from the Rockefellers. Its "trustees" are henchmen of the "oil king": Thomas Parkinson, the president of the Rockefeller insurance firm Equitable Life Insurance, and Marcellus Hartley Dodge, son-in-law of the "oil king" and the chairman of the board of directors of the military concern, Remington Arms Company.

An object of special concern for the Rockefellers is the so-called Russian Institute of Columbia University, created in 1946. This "educational institution" has an extremely distant relation with science and education. It is characterized by the closest ties with the intelligence organs of the State Department, for which the "institute" prepares cadres of "specialists on Russia." The overwhelming majority of the students of the "Russian Institute" are officials of the State Department, cadets of the military school at West Point, and students of the naval academy.

Since the "institute" was created, its director has been Geroid Robinson, a "specialist on Russian affairs". During the war, Robinson was chief of the "Russian section" of strategic intelligence of the American Army. Under his direction, there worked in the "Russian Institute"

such double-dyed reactionaries as Professors Mosley and Simmons and the pseudo-expert Harry Schwartz -- one of the violent propagandists of hatred toward the USSR in the pages of the newspaper The New York Times.

The "oil king" trains cadres not only for anti-Soviet diversion. Through ARAMCO in Arabia he supplies the so-called "school of eastern studies" in Jerusalem with money. In this "school" American officers are taught espionage in the Near East. Thus the links are forged in one and the same chain -- the preparation of a new war of the monopolies against the camp of peace, democracy, and socialism.

* * *

The first fortune of Rockefeller, the "oil king," was occasioned by the war boom evoked by the civil war in the USA.

The first world war brought Standard Oil unheard-of profits.

After the end of this bloody slaughter, the dollars of the "oil king," like those of other American monopolies, facilitated the revival of the Germany war machine and its preparation of the second world war. Rockefeller's Standard Oil had long been connected with the German concern I. G. Farben Industrie, which reared Hitlerism, that monstrous offspring of German imperialism. Without this industry of the weapons of war, fascist aggression would have been impossible. I. G. Farben Industrie filled Hitler's shells with TNT, supplied mechanized and air force units with rubber and fuel, and finally, supplied the poison gases for the mass murders of people in the camps of death -- Auschwitz and Majdanek. This concern was the only producer of synthetic rubber and gasoline in the country; in its factories 95 percent of the German poison gas and 84 percent of the explosives were produced.

The Standard Oil Company was an ally and partner of I. G. Farben Industrie. The cartel agreement of 1938 concluded between them granted I. G. Farben Industrie the opportunity to create enormous reserves of aviation gasoline for the war being prepared by German imperialism. In addition, this agreement granted I. G. Farben Industrie a share in the profits from the production of aviation gasoline in the USA.

The Second World War did not break these cartel ties, it only temporarily weakened them, drove them underground. Thanks to them, the Hitlerites received secret technical information from the USA even during the war, and with the aid of their agents in South America, they bought aviation gasoline from Standard Oil.

It is not surprising that only two out of the 55 enterprises of I. G. Farben Industrie suffered from the Anglo-American bombings.

While the peoples of the world were celebrating the victory over fascism, alarm was ruling in Wall Street: a threat to the enormous profits of wartime had arisen.

But the New York stock profiteers did not intend to give up their fabulous profits. The "cold war" was one of the main factors of profit. The American oil companies received over four and a half billion dollars in profits in the very first years of the cold war. Half of these profits were the share of the Rockefeller concerns. Dollars flowed in a still broader stream into the safes of the "oil king" after the start of the war in Korea.

By as early as the first quarter of 1951, the profits of 23 oil companies of the US had risen one and a half times. The cessation of the Korean war did not stop the stream of profits -- it was evident that the arms race continued with unrelenting force. And while, during the last year of the war in Korea, the profits of Rockefeller's Standard Oil reached a hitherto unprecedented level -- 553 million dollars, in 1955 the profits topped 700 million dollars, and they continue to grow.

The Rockefellers are once again profiting from the arms race, from war preparations.

The bloody events in the Near East in the fall of 1956, the war against Egypt begun by England, France and Israel with the silent protection and secret instigation of the US monopolies, brought new profits to the American oil monopolies. In February 1957, Rathbone, president of Rockefeller's Standard Oil of New Jersey, told a committee of Congress that the increase in oil prices evoked by the Suez crisis would increase the profits of the American oil companies by 100 million dollars in 1957, would bring those profits up to a fabulous sum -- 900 million dollars! This, it appears, was why the houses of Port Said burned, why the blood of Arab women and children was spilled!

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How much ink has been spilled by the propagandists of the American monopolies in attempts to assure the entire world that American "aid" is rendered "unselfishly" to the countries receiving it, with the only purpose being that of facilitating a raise in the standard of living of their peoples! But then in February 1957 a secret letter of Nelson Rockefeller, one of the representatives of the dynasty of the "oil kings" of the US, became the property of world public opinion; Rockefeller, to this day, enjoys great influence in the White House. In this letter, a broad program is set forth for the use of the so-called economic "aid" of the USA for the political and military enslavement of underdeveloped countries by American imperialism.

With the ultimate in cynicism, the "oil king" of the US proposes a "total" foreign policy which would unite political, psychological, economic, military, and special methods into one whole. The author cites Iran as an example of the application of such methods. "By rendering economic aid," he writes, "we have succeeded in obtaining access to Iranian oil, and now we have already firmly consolidated ourselves in the economy of this country. Consolidation of our economic positions in Iran has made it possible for us to place its entire foreign policy under control, and, in particular, to persuade Iran to enter the Bagdad Pact."

Nelson Rockefeller calls for a strengthening of American military alliances with the help of a "large program of economic development."... "The basic part of our (that is, US -- O. F.) economic aid," he declares, "should come to underdeveloped countries through channels which should serve the cause of our military alliances." The Rockefeller program sets forth a plan for the utilization of private capital investments with the purpose of securing the political rule of the USA in the countries receiving aid. For what reason?

In order, it is said in Rockefeller's letter, that "the development of economic relations with these countries" may give the USA "the opportunity to take into its own hands the key positions in the economies of these countries." This is where the plans for imperialist enslavement of the "underdeveloped" states, for their subordination to the mercenary interests of the monopolies of the US, for their plundering by the insatiable oil trusts and other trusts of the United States of America originate. The struggle against these plans of the imperialist monopolies is an important part of the struggle against a new world war, which is being prepared by the American magnates of capital.

Merchants of Death

G. Dad'yants

When the advertising agents of the Du Pont family of billionaires want to demonstrate the might of this dynasty, they relate how once US President F. Roosevelt, in one of his personal meetings with Irene Du Pont, invited him to visit the White House. "This invitation was never accepted," the magazine The Saturday Evening Post, an organ of large US capital, wrote subsequently, not without self-satisfaction.

The American press breathlessly describes the luxurious estates of the Du Ponts, scattered throughout the territory of the state of Delaware, which has long been nicknamed in the US as the "dukedom of the Du Ponts." More than a few newspaper and magazine pages have been devoted to a description of the fabulous estate of the Du Ponts, "Longwood," located on the outskirts of Wilmington.

This, as the biographers of the Du Ponts testify, in a medieval castle, surrounded by a thousand acres of attentively cultivated land. In the greenhouses of "Longwood" are grown all year round oranges, lemons, peaches, and also all possible sorts of exotic fruits. The owner of the estate cares for his greenhouses: during the 1930s he spent \$25,000 for one cultivated bush alone, which was supplied to "Longwood"...

Besides "Longwood," which, according to careful estimates of investigators of the American way of life, is valued at about fifteen million dollars, another 23 suburban castles of the Du Ponts are located near Wilmington.

Each of them is famous for its sights. At "Nemur," the residence of Henry I. [Henry Francis?] Du Pont, for example, there are old gates taken at one time from the medieval English estate of Wimbleton. Here, too, there are luxurious gardens, located below the level of the sea...

The state of Delaware is called the "dukedom of the Du Ponts" not only because the estates of the Du Ponts exceed, in their magnificence, the castles of medieval feudal lords. This state is in essence their feudal dominion. The Du Ponts here own everything: schools, hospitals, bridges and roads. The local newspapers belong to them, the courts and the authorities of the state serve them. They establish the rules that are suitable to them. The Du Ponts here are masters in the full meaning of this word. Their luxurious palaces, valued at 150 million dollars, are only insignificant grains of sand in the sea of their wealth. The capital controlled by the Du Pont oligarchy now amounts to 16 billion dollars.

Their power -- the power of the dollar -- extends far beyond the boundaries of the state of Delaware, and even beyond the boundaries of America.

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Back in 1934, John Jacob Rascob, the chief assistant of Pierre S. Du Pont, the owner of "Longwood," boasted: "The Du Pont group, with the aid of joint-stock capital, controls a larger share of industry than any other group in the US. Not one of the groups, including those of Rockefeller, Morgan, Mellon, or any other, controls industry on such a scale or bears such responsibility for it as does the Du Pont company."

Since that time, more than twenty years have passed. During those years the might of the Du Pont group has grown still further. They can rightfully be called the kings of American chemistry and automobile building.

At the present time, three enormous monopolistic associations of the US are under the control of the Du Ponts; the gigantic chemical concern Du Pont de Nemours, the United States Rubber Company, and the largest military-industrial enterprise of the capitalist world, General Motors Corporation. In order to disguise their control over these associations, the Du Ponts have created the holding companies, Christiana Securities and Delaware Trust. All the stock in them belong to the Du Ponts themselves or to members of their enormous family.

* * *

Formally, the concerns Du Pont de Nemours, United States Rubber, and General Motors are also joint stock enterprises, that is, any businessman can participate in them with his capital. However, in fact all power in the boards of these companies belongs to the Du Ponts. It is sufficient for these gentlemen, for example, to own 17 percent of the stock of United States Rubber Company, in order to dictate their will within the company, since all the other stock is distributed -- more accurately, atomized -- among 14,000 small stock-traders and other lovers of profit...

The Du Ponts have turned the companies controlled by them into markets for the sale of their own products. They compel United States Rubber, for example, to buy raw material from the concern E. I. Du Pont de Nemours. It stands to reason that the prices for that raw material are established by the Du Ponts themselves. Part of the production of United States Rubber is sold to General Motors, and the Du Ponts again dictate the prices in just the same way. And those who acquire the products -- the consumers -- pay for these prices. Thus enormous profits grow, permitting the Du Ponts -- as they admitted in the advertising brochure This is Du Pont, which they published for the stockholders -- "to subsidize its own expansion."

For the sake of what is this unending expansion carried out? For the sake of what is the artful mechanism of the stocks established, the complex, disguised control of the holding and stock companies, the lowered and increased prices, the hidden monopolistic market? What is the moving force of the growth of the industrial empire of the Du Ponts? In the same brochure, This is Du Pont, they themselves answer this question: "The impelling motive..., without doubt, is the attractive force of profits."

The force of profits. The Du Ponts do not exist in order to grow peaches in the state of Delaware. The meaning of their existence is in the incessant chase after profits.

With the Du Ponts, everything is subordinated to an increase in profits. In the enterprises of Du Pont de Nemours and United States Rubber, a bestial speed-up system is established. This is that scientific system of "squeezing out the sweat" from the worker about which V. I. Lenin wrote with such anger; but a system still more highly perfected, carried to

genuine fanaticism. While in 1929 the worker in the Du Pont concern produced, in a nine-hour working day, 250 pounds of zinc paint, now, "in a shorter time," his production -- 3,000 pounds -- is twelve times greater. And at enterprises of General Motors, according to the testimony of the American trade-union press, the conveyors are moved at such speed that people often faint away and die at the conveyor. But what is a man to the Du Ponts! They count profits... And the profits of General Motors grow with every passing year, with every day. While, for example, in 1954 profits had grown to the fabulous sum of 806 million dollars, in 1955 they reached figures never been seen in the history of the American monopolies -- more than one billion dollars. The Du Ponts had exceeded themselves.

In their unquenchable thirst for profits, the Du Ponts do not content themselves with the exploitation of the American workers chained by need to the conveyor belts. People work for them also in Canada, where their firm E. I. Du Pont de Nemours owns enterprises that extract pyrites; in Mexico; and in Chili, where enterprises of the processing industry belong to them. The Du Ponts have plants in Argentina and Brazil. Du Pont's General Motors directly or indirectly controls 36 branch companies abroad. Among them are the plants of the "Opel-Werke" company in West Germany, and the "Velox," "Halden," and "Wevern" automobile plants in England. Du Pont's United States Rubber Company has branches in Argentina, Columbia, Venezuela, Scotland, Cuba, and Mexico. Rubber plantations on Sumatra and in Malaya belong to it. The press calculated one day that about one million workers in various parts of the world work for the enrichment of the Du Ponts.

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In America they call the Du Ponts the "hereditary merchants of death." And indeed, the greatest profits are brought to them by death, destruction, and wars. It was precisely due to war orders during the period of the First World War that the company Du Pont de Nemours was turned from a comparatively small dynamite and gunpowder firm into one of the gigantic world trusts. The enormous profits realized by the Du Ponts during the First World War permitted them to own General Motors from the beginning, and then, also, the United States Rubber Company.

If the income of the Du Ponts during the period of the First World War was enormous, then the profits they acquired during the Second World War were fabulous. During the years of the First World War the entire turnover of the Du Pont dynamite and gunpowder concern amounted to a billion dollars. During the years of the Second World War, just one of the Du Pont concerns -- General Motors -- received war orders of 14.6 billion dollars from the US government.

Reared by war, the Du Ponts fear peace. If several years of the postwar peace were "lost years" for the kings of dynamite and gunpowder, they cheered up in 1950, when the war began in Korea. Orders worth billions at once flowed into the bulky safes of the owners of General Motors; during the years of the Korean war that concern received some seven billion dollars in war orders. Behind these dry figures was the roar of the motors of American bombers over peaceful Korean cities, and the thousands of tons of deadly load thrown down by them upon the heads of women, old men, and children.

The name of the Du Ponts is inseparably connected with the most sinister activity of American monopolistic capital -- with the production of American atomic and hydrogen weapons. The Du Pont gentlemen with light hearts profit by many millions of dollars from this black business.

No one but the Du Ponts was given the task of building the first complex American atomic enterprises for the production of plutonium in Hanford (state of Washington), enterprises which were subsequently transferred to the Morgans. The main atomic plant at Oak Ridge (state of Tennessee), where the atomic bombs are produced, was also built precisely by the Du Ponts' concern. When Truman gave an order to the Atomic Energy Commission in 1950 to begin creating hydrogen bombs, the Du Ponts once again were right on the spot. The commission immediately concluded a contract with them entrusting them with the construction of a plant for the production of deuterium (a constituent part of the hydrogen bomb) at the Savannah River (state of South Carolina). The rulers of the US knew to whom to entrust this black business.

* * *

In order to direct the policy of the government along paths profitable to themselves, the monopolies need state power. Together with the other oligarchic groups of US finance capital, the Du Ponts guarantee themselves ruling positions in the apparatus of state administration of the USA. They maintain close ties with the ruling hierarchy of the Republican party, making large contributions to its treasury during the period of election campaigns. Thus securing for themselves decisive influence in the leadership of this party, the Du Ponts send their direct agents and henchmen into the apparatus of state administration of the US.

Representatives of the Du Pont concerns hold cabinet posts in the government of the US. The policy of the Du Pont henchmen in the government is fully subordinated to the interests of the industrial and financial oligarchy, as well as to the interests of US monopolistic capital as a whole.

It is therefore not difficult to understand why the USA so persistently, opposes the reduction of armaments and armed forces, the banning of the production, testing and use of weapons of mass destruction. It is evident that tanks, planes, and nuclear weapons are business for the American monopolies. The Du Ponts are assigned an honored place in the general staff of the American monopolies -- the National Association of Manufacturers. Lamont Du Pont has long been a vice-president of this association. The representatives of the Du Ponts belong to many of the secret organizations of large capital, rendering determining influence on the course of state administration in the country.

At one time, one of the committees of the Senate, under the pressure of the indignant public opinion of America, published data on the secret forces of Wall Street that finance the most reactionary organizations of the US -- the "League of Freedom," the "Crusaders," the "Defenders of the Republic," the "Economic Council of the State of New York," and others. It appeared that out of about one million dollars paid into the funds of these organizations by the largest industrialists and bankers of America, 356,000 was the contribution of the Du Ponts and their agents. The Du Ponts rule in the so-called "National Economic Council," which is occupied with reactionary propaganda and with active secret activity in circles of the US Congress. It is precisely that organization which strives for the adoption of the arch-reactionary bills aimed at undermining and destroying the trade unions and the organized labor movement in the United States of America.

The Du Ponts finance the American Legion, out of whose ranks the monopolies of Wall Street prepare American storm troopers to make short shrift of progressive workers organizations and trade unions. The kings of the dynamite and atom business do not stint their dollars -- it is evident that in these detachments of American reaction they see one of the chief means of suppressing the democratic forces of the American people.

Like the other magnates of large US capital, the Du Ponts fear that the truth about the activity of their concerns will reach the common people, arousing anger and indignation in them. Therefore, they hire dozens of paid journalists, commentators and writers to spread myths and legends about their "philanthropy," "kindness," and "sympathy." At one time a tearful legend made the rounds of the American press about how a certain feeble old woman hobbled up to "Longwood," the estate of the Du Ponts, and, turning, at the entrance of the park, to an old man whom she took for a gardener, asked him to show her the strange plants. This little old man supposedly seated the old woman in a mobile armchair and wheeled her for several hours around the lanes of the park, telling her all sorts of facts and fables about the Du Pont orchids, rhododendrons, palms and cacti. The legend had it that the inquisitive old woman thus

did not recognize that the master of the castle, Pierre S. Du Pont, was wheeling her around the lanes. If the old woman had come to the gates of the hydrogen weapon plant at the Savannah River, a few minutes would have been enough for her to understand who and what the Du Pont gentlemen are.

Plunderer First Class

M. Andreyev

A Gigantic Octopus

A swift elevator noiselessly lifted the correspondent of Time magazine to the fourteenth floor of a large, glass and metal building located on the Great West Boulevard of Detroit. On the massive front supported by marble columns glittered the name "General Motors." The correspondent entered a large, carpeted room finished in oak paneling. On a wall beside a writing table hangs the photograph of the President of the United States, animatedly conversing with Curtis, the president of General Motors. Alongside it hangs a comical drawing in which a father, seated in a chair, is telling a seven-year-old tomboy-son of "the great and free country of America" where "anyone can become president." "I do not want to be president of the United States!" answers the boy. "I want to become president of General Motors."

Viewing this room, the correspondent experienced mixed feelings of usual respect, apprehension, and pride. Apprehension would not please the man who heads the largest concern in the world, nor would pride of one's missions. The correspondent was sent to interview Curtis, whom Time selected as "the most outstanding man of 1955" from among hundreds of other honorable businessmen.

The interview was short. The president of General Motors or GM, as this concern is familiarly and at the same time respectfully called in the United States, was short-spoken. It was not necessary for him to persuade or convince the representative of the press. Henry Luce, publisher of Time and other journals, himself a great businessman, not only does not tolerate that his brother in business and class be spoken of disrespectfully in the press, but even takes steps in order that all which Curtis says and has in mind to say is published on the pages of his magazine in a most favorable light. In addition, and this is paramount, both Curtis and the correspondent know well that profits of American newspapers and magazines from advertisements are significantly greater than from subscriptions. More than \$30 million is received each year from General Motors alone for this purpose. Advertising is the motive power of trade, the straitjacket and means of bribery of the American "free press," which serves as a slave to monopolies including the richest Detroit client, General Motors.

On 2 January 1956, Time declared that "the most outstanding man of 1955 is 62-year-old Harlow Herbert Curtice, president of General Motors, the largest monopoly in the world, and recipient of the highest salary in the United States -- more than \$800,000 a year. The best journalists, photographers, and artists of the Luce newspaper empire were commissioned to demonstrate the greatness, dignity, and vast importance for America and all mankind of the president of GM and the concern which he heads. However, not only Time, but even all organs of the capitalist press of the United States have attempted to whitewash and ennoble the activities of American monopolies in recent years. Not only the press is involved in this effort, but also those people who are paid by monopolies to directly or indirectly represent their interests; government and political figures, members of Congress, economists, historians, jurists, and even some of the leaders of American trade unions, which is not strange. This whitewashing is done to conceal from the workers the conversion of American monopolies into a gigantic amalgamation and to veil their anti-national activities which are becoming even more criminal in nature.

The blood and deprivation of the nation's masses, the suffering and tears of millions of workers have created these vast monopolistic amalgamations and that invisible skyscraper in which the "multi-millionaire club" is quartered. Invisible because such an organization does not formally exist in the United States. American industrialists, with envy, and the people, with abhorrence, attached the nickname "multi-millionaire club" to those corporations and concerns which amassed capital exceeding the vast sum of one billion dollars.

In 1901 the first multi-millionaire corporation appeared in the United States -- Morgan's "United States Steel," which absorbed its competitors including "Carnegie Steel," one of the oldest steel companies. Soon after the first world war six multi-millionaire corporations appeared in the United States.

The second world war and the course of preparing for a new war and the militarization of the economy, accompanied by the impudent robbery of the American people and the peoples of other countries, gave rise to new, large-scale plunderers. In January 1953, the number of multi-millionaire concerns rose to 66, and their capital -- to \$173.4 billion. In 1955 there were 77 multi-millionaire concerns with a capital of \$224 billion.

General Motors, the largest military-industrial corporation in the world entered this "multi-millionaire club." Its capital at the beginning of 1953 was estimated at the astronomical figure of \$4 billion. Toward the middle of 1956 this had increased to \$6.3 billion.

The corporation has 157 plants, of which more than 30 are abroad. The tentacles of this gigantic octopus extend into 20 countries of Europe, Latin America, Asia, Africa, including England, West Germany, France, Pakistan, Australia, and other countries. In 1955, 624,000 blue and white collar workers were employed in its enterprises. In 1941, when the United States entered the war, the value of all products sold by this corporation was \$2.4 billion. In 1955 it reached \$12.4 billion and its gross profits before deducting taxes were \$2.6 billion. For the first time in the entire history of the United States this concern earned a pure profit of more than one billion dollars, occupying first place among all other industrial concerns.

The largest mechanized transportation concern in the capitalist world, General Motors manufactures not only automobiles, but airplanes, powerful tractors, airplane engines (including jet engines), railroad diesel locomotives, diesel engines for heavy machinery, mechanisms, and naval craft, road-building machines (power shovels, scrapers, etc.), mobile electric-power stations, refrigerating plants, and refrigerators, etc.

The company organized a research group for work in the field of atomic energy to which until recently, only the elect, the largest corporations -- plunderers who jealously guard this golden source of enormous profits -- were admitted.

Military orders or "defense" work played and are playing a special role in enriching General Motors as well as other large monopolistic amalgamations. In the United States this practice is hypocritically termed criminal use of the government treasury by monopolies, which is made up of the hard-earned pennies of the American people. General Motors' share in government military orders during the second world war, the Korean aggression, and the militarization imposed on the American people has varied between ten and twenty percent, depending on the proddings of its representatives in Washington and the market conditions of its civilian production.

How did this concern achieve its wealth and power? Perhaps the Curtices and their brothers in business actively achieved power and glory by persistent, honorable labor and legal means, as corrupt scribblers and bourgeois scientific and political figures reiterate? Bourgeois historians and economists, and especially the Curtices themselves have reluctantly revealed the secrets of their profit. The entire origin, development, and activities of General Motors demonstrate convincingly enough that the history of American monopolies is a disgrace and an unbroken chain of crimes against the people of the United States and other countries.

* * *

Spiders in the Bank

Jungles, dark jungles, where the strong devour the weak, where no law exists but force -- such is the kingdom of capital. At the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, imperialism -- monopolistic capitalism -- finally matured and the struggle for profit acquired gigantic proportions. It became more violent and universal; methods of this struggle became more refined. Gigantic monopolies, whose supremacy is the main distinguishing feature of the monopolistic stage of capitalism, entered the melee. This struggle was led by well-educated but calculating, well-mannered but unfeeling, cleanly dressed but with corrupt conscience, handsome and at the same time criminal and brutal gentlemen who comprised the aggressive circles of imperialistic countries.

In the first decade of the 20th century the industrialist William Durant was well-known not only in the closely neighboring cities of Detroit and Flint, but in the district as well. Carriages, vans, coaches, and bicycles manufactured in his plants were known far beyond the borders of the state of Michigan. The production of railroad cars was an especially profitable undertaking. During one of the difficult crises Durant bought enterprises and shares of his ruined competitors cheaply. Unemployed European immigrants and negroes from the South consented to work for any beggarly wage, which created very favorable conditions for the profit which Durant and his friends were seeking.

In 1905, exploiting the grievous situation of the Buick Company which, not long before had begun to produce automobiles, Durant bought its plant in the city of Flint for \$10 million. By this time the experienced plunderer began the merciless struggle, typical of monopolies, for supremacy in the automobile industry which, though young, still promised large profits. The Ford Company barely escaped falling into the traps arranged by Durant. Henry Ford was already on the verge of agreeing to sell his plant to him for \$8 million, but the more cautious bankers, whose capital he controlled, did not support Durant. Together with Ford, Durant utterly ruined four other automobile companies: Oldsmobile, Cadillac, Norway, and Oakland. Almagamating them with the Buick company, he founded a new concern in 1908 -- General Motors. But when the concern's profits achieved considerable proportions, big-shot Detroit bankers came to replace the comparatively small plunderer. They acquired his concern by unceremoniously chucking out their ill-starred competitor.

Many crimes were committed by American businessmen in pursuit of profit. But their most terrible crime against mankind was war. During the first world war, Durant became rich. His striving to regain General Motors increased proportionately as the profits of this concern grew. Durant founded a new automobile company -- Chevrolet, whose capital before the war reached \$94 million, an enormous sum for those times. The struggle for General Motors entered a new phase. By enlisting the support of banks

associated at this point with the Du Pont plunderers, Durant again acquired a portion of the GM shares by means of various intrigues. Joining to these shares the capital and plants of the Chevrolet company, he stood at the head of a much larger concern, whose capital and profits galloped sharply upwards during the First World War. However, attracted by the prospect of unprecedented profit, still greater plunderers of the dynamite-powder clan of Du Pont followed Durant and General Motors. They lay in wait for Durant during one of his shady operations in the jungles of big business. Making use of the crisis of 1920, they forced him to sell his shares to the businessmen of Du Pont de Nemours. Owning 23 percent of the General Motors shares, they began to dominate this concern. The remaining shares were dispersed among a great-number of companies and individuals.

Thus did the General Motors monopoly grow fat in the brutal struggle with its competitors, swindling, profiteering, resorting to unlawful actions, and cruelly exploiting the workers.

In 1937 its capital was \$1,227 million, and in 1956 constituted \$6.6 billion (\$10 billion including branch enterprises). The profits of General Motors rose from \$154 million to \$2.6 billion in 1955.

With the growth of the GM concern's financial power, the scale of its intrigues in the United States and abroad and its impudent interference in the economic and political life of countries increased. The number of companies absorbed and forcibly annexed by General Motors began to increase by tens.

In 1890 the United States Congress passed the so-called Sherman Law, supplemented later by "antitrust" laws. But capitalism would cease to be capitalism were these laws not constantly violated. Since 1952 the large monopolistic sharks swallowed on the average of 800 small companies each year, ensuring them a dominant position in related industrial fields. By ruining, ousting, or subduing other competitors, General Motors now became a monopolist in the manufacture of motorized transportation.

In 1921 General Motors manufactured 12 percent of all motor vehicles produced in the United States. More than 50 percent of this production was manufactured by Ford Motors. In addition, there were another 86 small companies engaged in the manufacture of automobiles. Their share [of the total 1921 motor vehicle production] comprised 33 percent. In the first half of 1956 General Motors delivered 54 percent of [all] motor vehicles. After a desperate fight, Ford was compelled to be satisfied with 27 percent, while the small automobile manufacturers ceased to exist. General Motors graciously conceded to the activities of three other companies. Nineteen percent of the motor vehicles manufactured in the United States remained their share. They were left only in order that lawyers and legal advisers of GM could Jesuitically repudiate the charge of its ruined competitors that this octopus-concern was a monopolist.

The matter of legitimate plundering and destruction of concerns was handled in General Motors on a "scientific basis." A special section existed in its management whose sole purpose was to study the fields of profitable application of capital and to discover ways and means of invading these areas. Highly-paid economists, engineers, and lawyers from this section developed new methods of usurpation. The morals and lawfulness of these experts was unquestioned: every means is suitable in the struggle for profit. It is interesting that in the course of ten years (from 1928 to 1939) the then vice-president of GM, Charles Wilson, directly supervised this section. His activities in this field vital to the concern were so fruitful that he later became president of General Motors. C. E. Wilson was Secretary of Defense for five years.

How did Charles Wilson and his section operate? They somehow directed the attention of the boss of General Motors to the advantage of the diesel locomotive over the steam engine. Thus, when technical progress promised great profits to businessmen, they were for technical progress, while such "trifles" as ruining plants which competed with them did not worry them. What were laws of ethics and simple human conscience to them! They paid no attention to this. This is how Wilson and his section operated. In accordance with a plan of sabotage painstakingly conceived by them in 1929 and 1930, two petty companies which manufactured a small number of diesel locomotives ceased to exist. In 1941 General Motors turned out 13 percent of all diesels. In 1956 the trade-mark of GM shown on 76 percent of all diesels manufactured in the United States.

Oh, how the General Motors stockholders thanked fortune that they lived in this "free" capitalistic country where workers' toil, technical progress, initiative, and war are converted into profits for those who own capital. Is it not the "great" mission of the no less "great" America to chastise those atheists outside the United States who term these miraculous conversions crimes?

If these lines ever catch the eye of some well-educated gentleman of General Motors, that is, our commentary on the feelings of stockholders of this corporation who dream of a "great mission," he will respond with a curt, angry "That's ridiculous!" Curtice, president of GM, replied in just such a manner to considerably more inoffensive statements of American Congressmen and associates of the Department of Justice in Washington, when they cautiously questioned him concerning certain shady aspects of the corporation's activities and asked, surprisingly enough, "Doesn't this disturb you?" It is very likely his answer would be "Red propaganda!" In this case the gentleman from Wall Street might be reminded of the statement of that "famous pilot and businessman" Rickenbacker who was quite popular in the United States. On 19 December 1955, in glorifying the greatness of General Motors at a press conference, he came to the following "profound" conclusion: "Christianity inspired in mankind a hope and faith in freedom. Without Christ America could not be. Our country

is founded on a belief in Him. It was predestined that we, who possess the God-given advantage of freedom and the ability to produce practical miracles with the aid of the free enterprise system, must be the hope of mankind. When the time comes, we must have the moral and physical strength to point the way to freedom and peace for all peoples of the universe. This is the mission of America and her leaders."

Monopolists and their apologists have carried into politics the principle of "he who does not deceive does not sell," which is broadly accepted in trade. For this reason, when speaking about freedom, they always have in mind the freedom of capitalists to plunder the workers. They term free enterprise that system under which the large monopolistic plunderers make short work of the smaller companies with impunity. As far as the American way of "freedom" is concerned, all the people of the world know that, translated into the language of facts, this means cruel and ever-increasing exploitation of workers, a policy of militarism and imposition of fascist methods, subversive activities against peoples of other countries, and preparation for war.

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"A Government of Bankers for Bankers"

On the hills near the small peaceful town of Gettysburg, in the southern part of the state of Pennsylvania, still remain those remnants which are guarded as relics of the glorious past of the United States, remnants of the decisive battle in July 1863 between forces of the Northern states and the armies of the Southern slaveowners. The battle ended in the defeat of the Southerners and the victory, according to Marx's determination, of the system of hired labor over the system of slavery. On the site of the battles, on a large stone slab, is hewn the famous speech of the then President Lincoln in which he solemnly declared that a government of the people, elected by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the face of the earth.

Lincoln was a progressive political figure of his time. In 1865, through the initiative of Marx and Engels, the General Council of the First International sent salutations to Lincoln in connection with his re-election as President of the United States. However, the people's government of which Lincoln spoke of, what is truer, dreamed about, did not exist in the United States.

The American poet Walt Whitman, who lived around the time of Lincoln, depicted the political figures of his time and their relations with representatives of business: "People who secured government posts, robbers, rich men, malefactors, creatures of the president, gossips, organizers of pre-election campaigns, bawlers, grafters, lobbyists, parasites, politicians, motley dressed, with gold chains forged from the people's money, innate tradesmen of freedom..."

This was in the 19th century; but in the 20th the unsightly picture of political dispositions painted by this great poet became still gloomier. In the report of the Central Committee of the CPSU to the 20th Party Congress, N. S. Khrushchev stated that "monopolistic capital directly subordinates government organs to it by sending its representatives into it and by forcing the government 'to regulate' the economy of the country in the interests of monopolies."

Even before the first world war, on 13 February 1913 an article by Woodrow Wilson was published in the Fortnightly Review on the eve of his assumption of the post of President of the United States. At the height of a bitter controversy, Wilson made the following interesting admission:

"The real masters of the United States government are the amalgamated bankers and industrialists. This is apparent from every page of Congress' decisions and from all meetings in the White House. The people from whom the government seeks advice concerning its policy are the large bankers, industrialists, and leaders of the trade, railroad, and steamship companies. The United States government at the present time is the offspring of monopolies."

Senator Morse recently expressed this opinion concisely but no less eloquently. Paraphrasing the words of Lincoln, he said that the Eisenhower government is a government of bankers, selected by bankers, for bankers.

In November 1955, senators in one of the commissions of the American Congress demonstrated unusual spirit. They set about the "study" of General Motors, as Senator O'Mahoney announced, not without bragging. The reasons for this zeal will be explained below. At this point it is necessary to cite one of the statements which characterize the relationship between the government and monopolies. A certain Kuinch [Theodore KingetQuinn?], president of the Monitor Equipment Corporation, voicing the apprehension of small companies for their profits, on which large monopolies were encroaching, angrily declared that the decisions of owners of such concerns as General Motors and United States Steel "could determine the complete policy of the country in defiance of the people and their representatives."

This, of course, is an open secret. One can only be astonished at the shamelessness of the American press and the government and political figures who dare to dispute the generally known facts which show that financial and industrial magnates, not satisfied with using dummies and professional politicians, themselves enter all organs of government administration.

Lists of members of the last three governments serve as peculiar guides to American monopolies. The affiliation of the President with one or another party plays no role whatsoever. Presidents come and go, but the monopolies remain in power. As a rule, the composition of the

United States government only reflects the existing correlation of forces between different groups of financial capital. In 1956 members of the American government occupied posts as directors and had financial connections with 86 corporations which had a total capital of more than 20 billion dollars. The "new" government of Eisenhower, established in January 1957, hardly differs from its predecessor. According to the latest data of the eminent American economist V. Perlo, as cited in his new book, 150 of the highest posts in the present apparatus of the United States government are occupied by capitalists, 14 by higher military men, and 108 by lawyers and professional politicians who have proven themselves in the service of capital.

At the Service, of Business

Every four years, in connection with the election of the President and the Congress, the leadership of the Democratic and Republican parties arrange noisy spectacles -- electoral campaigns. The foreign and internal policies of both parties is practically identical. The leaders of both parties represent the American monopolies. During electoral campaigns the struggle between them for posts in the government, for the right to make advantageous use of the government apparatus and the Congress in their own interests, is intensified.

Having become politicians, businessmen convert the various departments into branches of their corporations and the government into a business club, or rather into a board of directors of a large company, and the American taxpayers, into providers of the capital for their companies. This concept is quite openly expressed by the millionaire Sloan, who occupied the post of chairman of the board of General Motors continuously for 20 years until April 1956. Sloan defined the tasks of the "people's" government of the United States in the following statement: "Our country," he declared, "is primarily a business society: as go the affairs of the business world, so go the affairs of us all. Our government is partly the general staff of our society and thus for business also." In order to ensure themselves profits, the bosses of General Motors took steps to place this general staff in their hands.

In 1940 when the smell of gunpowder and unprecedented profits was in the air, the General Motors corporation was so powerful and influential that it demanded the inclusion of its representative on the government commission on defense, upon which the distribution of military contracts and, consequently, profits depends. The president of the corporation, Knudsen, went to Washington. As a result of its "patriotic" activities during World War II, General Motors received government orders for the vast sum of \$15.6 billion.

After the war, the Du Ponts and General Motors began to take over the most important elements of the United States government apparatus. In 1952 Arthur Summerfield, head of the Summerfield-Chevrolet firm which was

the largest division of General Motors in the sale of automobiles, was promoted to chairman of the National Committee of the Republican Party. Of the two aspirants to the post of president at the 1952 convention of the Republican Party, Taft and General Eisenhower, the Du Ponts and General Motors preferred the latter. The son of the president of GM, Wilson, headed one of the committees for the election of Eisenhower. He was supported by the vast empire of General Motors with its divisions situated in a majority of the United States. Wilson, the president of GM, and his assistants played an important role in promoting Eisenhower's nomination for the post of president during the Republican Party Convention.

It is quite astonishing then that in January 1953 Wilson was appointed Secretary of Defense and Summerfield -- Postmaster General? Douglas McKay, director of a division of General Motors in Oregon, was confirmed as Secretary of the Interior, and Robert Stevens, former director of this and other corporations -- the Secretary of the Army. Roger Keyes, a former vice-president of General Motors, became Assistant Secretary of Defense. When GM was assured of profitable government contracts, Keyes, who retired in May 1954, returned to his office in General Motors, for the government really had begun to resemble a Washington division of General Motors.

What Is Good for the United States

The Department of Defense and other commanding heights of the government apparatus of the United States were controlled by the General Motors concern, but not without difficulties. It was not because this operation was illegal, but because it was conducted in the interests of this monopoly and not the masses of people. The difficulties were engendered by the fact that many other concerns besides General Motors reached for the government treasury and power. This was demonstrated with great clarity when the United States Senate appointed Wilson secretary.

This appointment was a simple formality for Wilson. The enormous capital of General Motors was quite a sufficient recommendation for this important post. However, senators connected with those firms who had been dealt with unfairly in the distribution of military contracts timidly and respectfully raised the question concerning the legality of Wilson's appointment. Back in the good old days when monopolies were still not so all-powerful, a law was passed which forbade persons in government service from doing business with those companies in which these government officials had capital invested.

The question posed to Wilson was quite timely. Everyone knew that General Motors had long used the Department of Defense for increasing its own capital. From the moment of Wilson's appointment it was clear that he owned stock in General Motors valued at least \$2.5 million. In addition, he had invested money in the Du Pont National Bank of Detroit

and also in a company exploiting oil-bearing land in Texas and Colorado. It also became well-known that his wife's capital was invested in a number of companies, including General Motors. This woman also acquired "in all only" 7,500 shares of the Greyhound Bus Company whose lines cover a major portion of the United States.

The question of Wilson's appointment was a polite hint that General Motors and Wilson himself were using the government treasure in their own self-interest. Nonetheless, the punctilious senators were still able to be moderately reconciled with this fact. Quite recently former Attorney General Biddle lamented the fact that Americans "forget what public dishonesty always creates." The senators were more indignant over the fact that General Motors was too high-handed in driving its competitors away from the government feed box. Voicing their interests, Johnson, leader of the Democrats in the Senate, declared that "no one privately owned enterprise is more important to the Department of Defense than General Motors. On the other hand no one government institution is more important to General Motors than the Department of Defense."

Wilson decided that the senators' hints were improper and that the parliamentarians must be put in their place. In the beginning he menacingly declared that he intended to retain his stock. It was implied that he reserved the post of Secretary of Defense for himself. The senators stood their ground. The incensed Wilson hurled a catch-phrase at a meeting of the commission: "What is good for General Motors is also good for the United States." Who knows how this whole affair would have ended had Wilson not announced that he would sacrifice and sell all his shares. It remains only to point out that he recovered his share holdings with interest as soon as he left the Pentagon.

The satisfied senators approved Wilson as secretary. The appreciative Du Ponts established a life "pension" of \$40,000 a year for him as compensation for his "sacrifices" and "distressing experiences." In addition, by agreement with General Motors, he retained the right to a bonus of the vast sum of \$800,000 for three years.

Wilson did not remain under obligation to the bosses of the concern. By September 1953 General Motors had sliced off a thick piece of government pie. The Department of Defense (Wilson) signed a contract with GM (friends and colleagues of Wilson) for \$204 million for the delivery of medium tanks to the American Army. Following this, the government entrusted General Motors with the production and delivery of army trucks. The concern received \$85 million more. And the contracts kept growing.

At one point General Motors declared, not without self-satisfaction, that in 1953 (the first year of Wilson's "selfless" activities in government) its gross profits (before paying taxes) amounted to \$1,716,341,000.

In that same year 557,260 white and blue collar workers were employed at enterprises of this concern. From each worker the company received a gross profit of \$3,080.

A Kowtowing Revolt

An unusual event took place on 8 November 1955 in the building of the United States Congress. Many correspondents of American and foreign newspapers, photographers, cameramen, associates of radio and TV broadcasting stations, government figures, members of Congress, and representatives of the largest industrial companies and banks crowded the halls. This day marked the first meeting of the long-threatened commission for "examining the activities of monopolies." Some people expected a sensational exposé. At last, they said triumphantly, a commission is engaged in the study of the activities of that gigantic monopoly, General Motors, the largest military-industrial concern in the world. Curtice, president of the concern, the 80-year-old Sloan, chairman of its board and one of America's richest businessmen, two first vice-presidents, 14 "ordinary" vice-presidents, and experienced lawyers and economists of this monopoly were invited to appear before the commission.

People uninformed of the secret interrelationships of this monopoly with the government and Congress, naively believed that the day of reckoning had come. There was no end to the intrigues and crimes of General Motors. The concern's guilt could easily have been proven on every point of the charge: the seizure of government posts and their use for personal enrichment; unlawful establishment of a monopoly in a number of fields of industry, displacement from these fields of other companies, and their ruin; exploitation of the difficulties of other countries to penetrate their markets and force out local companies; criminal connections with Hitlerite Germany; use of the second world war and the war in Korea for personal enrichment; complicity in formulating a policy of militarization and imposition of fascist methods upon the United States and use of this policy for purposes of profit; bribery of the American press by means of advertisements, etc. A special charge could have been made that the concern had used a significant portion of the value produced by the workers of its enterprises for purposes of personal enrichment, and that the concern was waging a systematic attack on the elementary rights of workers through its use of the government apparatus.

The Congressional commission began its work. Senators O'Mahoney, Wiley, and Langer made their opening speeches before the objective scrutiny of the movie and TV cameras and photographers. Their statements, however, immediately showed that the long-planned "investigation" of the activities of General Motors was a shameful farce. The address of Senator O'Mahoney, acting chairman of the commission, had a strange effect. One would have thought that the charge was being impuned against the commission

and not against General Motors. The senator began by refuting reports in newspapers that the concern would be made to answer. He assured its directors that the commission was convened merely to study and not to hold an inquiry. He declared that there would be neither defendants nor accusers at meetings of the commission. The remainder of his speech was reminiscent of a report of the chairman of the board of GM on the successes of the concern. At the end of his address O'Mahoney rebuked the company for its monopolistic position in several fields of industry and for dislodging its competitors.

The commission met for more than a month. Specially selected "witnesses" appeared. They spoke on whatever they liked, but not about the lawlessness of General Motors. Representatives of trade unions were not invited to appear before the commission.

A report on the results of the "study" was published in April 1956. The mountain had brought forth a mouse. The suggestions of the commission represented no danger whatsoever to the concern. It recommended that the question of restricting the expansion of activities of this monopoly be again studied and examined anew.

The American press maliciously noted that the kowtowing revolt was undertaken by members of Congress manifestly for pre-election purposes, to fool voters, and we add, to create the appearance of contending with a big monopoly.

For these same purposes the government joined in "battle" with General Motors. The speech of Brownell, Attorney General of the United States, which loudly proclaimed that the General Motors monopoly had been made to answer was advertised in every possible way before the 1956 elections. "At last!" Americans exclaimed. But this time also disappointment befell them. Proceedings were actively begun against the corporation, but only for the fraudulent seizure of motor bus manufacturing, for one-thousandth part of all the lawlessness which this monopoly had perpetrated. It would also seem that the demands of Attorney General Brownell were ridiculously modest. He wanted neither the return of capital to ruined companies, nor the imposition of a fine, nor any other punishment. Outwardly currying the favor of the monopolistic plunderers, Brownell turned to the corporation with the loyal appeal that it reduce its share in the manufacture of motor buses from 85 to 50 percent.

The shyness which the Attorney General displayed with regard to General Motors, is completely understandable. He well remembered the history of his assistant who, whether as a result of remorse or because he had not unravelled the simple question of who his boss was, came out, nevertheless, with a number of quite reserved "friendly warnings" addressed to General Motors in connection with its violations of laws on monopolies. In answer to these statements it was sufficient for GM

president Curtice to hurl bitterly a single word, "Ridiculous!" The Assistant Attorney General was relieved of his responsibilities and sent far away to the West as a judge. Let us keep in mind that the chief activity of the Attorney General of the American government is reprisal against and the persecution of workers and progressive organizations and figures and not monopolies and the reverend gentlemen of corporations. In its almost 50 years of existence General Motors was brought to court only five times for violation of anti-trust laws; in three of these cases, proceedings against it were discontinued. In capitalistic America GM can calmly continue its activities with fear that its crimes will be discovered.

A Conspiracy Against the People

During the second world war Downey, a representative of General Motors, cynically declared that "war is a struggle for control over the world. It undoubtedly represents one of a series of wars, the first of which occurred in 1914-1918. The Anglo-Saxons must rule the world."

Along with the directors of other monopolies the businessmen of General Motors bear a portion of the responsibility for unleashing the second world war.

The criminal ties between the Hitlerites and the directors of this concern were uninterrupted right up to the beginning of this war. In 1937, Sloan, representing the board of directors of the concern, together with Senator Vandenburg of Michigan, who in the United States is called the Senator from General Motors, and other figures conferred with the Hitlerites concerning important economic and political questions. A year later, after Munich, Knudsen, former president of the concern, sent Hitler a congratulatory telegram. In 1938 Hitler awarded a medal to Mooney, vice-president of General Motors. As far back as 1929 the concern established its control over the German automobile company Adam Opel. Thus, it happened that the production of half of all automobiles manufactured by fascist Germany before the war was in the hands of GM. Apparently, considering this, the American government in 1949 invited Charles E. Wilson, president of the corporation, to take part in the work of the commission on reparations. With suspicious unanimity the commission came to the conclusion that it was "inexpedient" to dismantle German military plants in which not only Wilson and his concern, but also his partners in big business were interested.

After the second world war the monopolies dictated to the American government an aggressive course of preparation for a new war, for artificial aggravation of international relations. This was done to insure vast profits from military contracts by again militarizing the economy. For these very purposes the American monopolies prepared and unleashed the war in Korea with the appearance of the first signs of economic crisis in 1948-1949.

Rufus Tucker, the chief economist of General Motors, declared, "Were it not for the Korean war, we would already have suffered difficult times." The 19 May 1950 issue of United States News and World Report stated frankly, "Business activity will not weaken because each warning signal can be used to increase expenditure of defense appropriations within the country and on foreign aid abroad...But in the end shooting is the result of foreign policy."

"Each time an American or Korean boy dies in Korea the cash box rings on Wall Street." Thus did the American film actress Karen Morley, whose name was entered on the black list because she dared to speak the truth, express the opinion of the progressive people of America toward the war in Korea.

The cash box in the office of Charles Wilson's concern rang more often than the others. Of the companies working for the war, General Motors again captured most of the contracts. During a three-year period (1950-1953) it received contracts for more than seven billion dollars.

Wilson and the concern which he represents became quite familiar with extracting profits by such a method. To receive greater profits, it was necessary to obtain more military contracts from the government treasury. For this it was necessary to juggle the military budget through Congress, and if there was no war, then a budget for "defense." Members of Congress would not object. If the taxpayers objected, it would be necessary to intimidate them with a fictitious "threat of aggression" on the part of the USSR and China. And if words were not effective, the monopolies of the United States, through their servitors in American intelligence, would arrange provocations not unlike the Hungarian situation.

And Wilson is doing his best. In 1954 he declared that "militant Communism is a military, political, social, and economic threat." In 1955 he threatened the American man in the street with the statement that the Soviet Union, in his words, represented "the main threat to peace throughout the entire world." In 1956 Wilson, unconfused by the complete lack of logic, declared, "The United States in the next years intends to retain the present size of its Armed Forces and provide them with the best weapons, in spite of talk about lessening international tensions." Incidentally, the number of United States troops in the middle of 1956 was 2,285,000 soldiers and officers. This is the largest Army the United States has maintained at any period in peace time. Wilson achieved new heights of hypocrisy and dissimulation in 1957. Trying to convince the American taxpayer of the "necessity" of voluntary sacrifices in connection with Congress' examination of the military budget, and the approach of actual military expenditures to \$43.5 billion, he declared that "events in Hungary and the Middle East show the correctness of the decision to

maintain large armed forces over a long period." Preparing provocations in Hungary and shutting their eyes to the aggression of their partners in the Middle East, American ruling circles are forcing Americans to pay for the profits of monopolies.

Such is the role which the General Motors corporation and its representatives in the government of today's America play in the United States.

The Financial "Empire" of the Mellons

I. Lapitskiy

On that very cold wintry day in the beginning of 1953 when the Republican Party again returned to power in Washington after a twenty-year interruption, a little-noticed but quite significant event took place in the separate, massive, granite building of the Treasury Department on the corner of 15th Street and Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington. The portrait of Andrew Mellon, which had hung for 20 years in a reception room, had been moved over to a more prominent spot. By instructions of the new Secretary of the Treasury, George Humphrey, it was displayed in the office of the Secretary.

The new Secretary knew what he was doing. He was director of more than 30 industrial companies and chairman of the board of directors of the Mellon coal concern, Pittsburgh Consolidated -- one of the largest coal companies in America. The re-positioning of the portrait was symbolic. It bore witness to the firm resolve of millionaires of the new government to follow the methods of the head of one of the largest financial-industrial empires of the United States, who ran the American treasury under three presidents: Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover.

Andrew Mellon, who held the post of Secretary of Treasury for ten years at a stretch, admittedly created "standards" -- until recently considered classics -- of manipulating the financial and taxation policies in the interests of the largest monopolies of the United States. The American publisher F. Landberg wrote this about Mellon in his book, Sixty American Families: "Immediately after the inauguration of the President (Harding), the piratic team of poker players, seizing the ship of state, began a struggle for the strong-box with the faultless instinct of burglars searching for family jewels."

Historians have calculated that during Mellon's tenure as Secretary of the Treasury, income tax collected from millionaires and billionaires was reduced by \$6 billion. Mellon perfected the art of shady intrigues which the Treasury Departments skillfully developed during his tenure in office.

How did the Mellons enter the tight circle of rulers of modern America and how was the dynasty of aluminum kings of the United States created?

The Mellons laid the basis for their fortune by speculating in real estate in Pittsburg and its environs. Then their capital entered banks and subsequently the coal, metallurgical, oil, aluminum, electrotechnical, and glass industries of this rapidly developing industrial region. Merciless exploitation of American laborers and of the cheap labor of immigrants, especially from countries of Eastern Europe, wars, and crises enriched the Mellon family.

Dozens of banks and vast land tracts still comprise a significant part of the Mellon wealth. But the largest profits are made in the large-scale monopolies controlled by the Mellons, such as Aluminum Company of America (ALCOA), Gulf Oil Corporation, Westinghouse Electric Corporation, Koppers and Company, Jones and Laflin, and dozens of other concerns, trusts, and corporations in the coal, electric, gas, copper, chemical, and aircraft industries, and also railroad transportation, municipal services, the insurance business, etc. By the beginning of 1957 the financial group of Mellons had amassed capital amounting to \$10.5 billion.

A progressive American newspaper once carried a caricature: a fat gentlemen calming a crying woman:

"Someone must bear the sacrifice, madam," he said. "In time of war we lose sons, in time of peace — profits."

War and its preparation always brought enormous profits to the Mellons. It was not accident that the capital of the Mellons was invested in fields of industry tied with the production of weapons of war -- in the manufacture of aluminum and steel, in the production of oil, electrical machinery building, atomic production.

The basic modern industrial empire of the Mellons is ALCOA, a monopoly in the strict meaning of the word. It was able to seize control of the sources of raw material (bauxite) and the patents to the basic production process of this important field of industry. For 50 years ALCOA was the sole supplier of aluminum in the United States. The first world war led to a vast increase in the demand for aluminum. ALCOA did not fail to exploit this demand. In the period of 1914-1916 it tripled the price of aluminum. The war gilded ALCOA, that is, the Mellons with gold. After the war ALCOA paid out as a dividend one thousand percent of its initial capital. This company, which held controlling shares in many large electric power companies, provided itself with cheap sources of electrical energy needed for production of aluminum.

The sphere of ALCOA's influence extended far beyond the limits of the United States. It enveloped Canada (the entire aluminum industry) and the bauxite mines of countries of Latin America, Britain, Dutch Guinea, and the Gold Coast. In addition, ALCOA controls many trusts and enterprises in France, Italy, England, Germany, Switzerland, India, and other countries.

ALCOA rules in world aluminum market. It closes cartel agreements with all large producers of aluminum in other capitalistic countries. At one time it signed such an agreement with the German concern I. G. Farben. This gave the Mellon monopoly the opportunity of seizing the patents for the production of magnesium and its alloys. ALCOA gained control over the Dow Chemical Company — the sole producer of magnesium in the United States.

The second world war, the postwar arms race, and the war in Korea brought new riches to the Mellon aluminum monopoly, which is closely connected with the aircraft industry and the production of radar equipment in the United States. These fields of military production now yield the greatest profits.

James Kindelberger, representative of the aircraft company North American Aviation philosophized several years ago, "One can compare an airplane to an egg. It is necessary to sell it while it is fresh..."

So reason the owners of ALCOA, which sells more than three-fourths of its production to the aviation industry.

The profits of the aircraft industry monopolies in the past years acquired such incredible proportions that in 1956, in the United States, demands were heard to investigate the sources of these superprofits as well as the suspicious activities of a large number of retired generals and admirals who migrated from different military departments into offices of aircraft corporations.

Speaking before one of the Congressional subcommittees, William Allen, president of Boeing, the largest aircraft monopoly, declared plainly, "Congress must not ponder whether we are earning too much; it must be concerned whether we are earning enough..."

And the subcommittee agreed with him.

Despite lessening of international tension, appropriations for military needs in the United States were again increased in the 1956/1957 budgetary year. United States News and World Report again declared triumphantly, "The Armed Forces are the largest business of America." The enemies of disarmament and the advocates of maintaining international tension again won the upper hand.

One can judge what conclusion the directors of Mellon's ALCOA drew from all this, from the statement of its president Wilson, who reported in the summer of 1956 that his company intended to spend \$600,000,000 in expanding its production during the next five years. Of course, ALCOA is basing its plans on continued vast military appropriations and very profitable military contracts. Exploiting its monopolistic position, ALCOA continues to inflate its production prices. It instituted a regular price increase on aluminum in March 1956; two months later its president spoke of a new price increase.

"But in the United States a special law against monopolies exists -- the so-called Sherman Antitrust Law," says a reader. "In such a case how can such a typical monopoly as ALCOA continue to operate with impunity?"

Actually, the monopolistic practices of ALCOA have acquired such a scandalous nature and caused so much harm to the national interests of the country, that in 1937, under public pressure, the United States government undertook "antitrust" judicial action against the aluminum company. But this "action" is dragging out up to the present day. In 1954 the court affirmed that ALCOA is a monopoly; in 1956 the government confirmed that despite the appearance of several small, new companies, ALCOA as before rules the aluminum market. The Wall Street Journal wrote in 1956, "The officials conducting the antitrust action for Uncle Sam (i.e., the United States government) decided that they needed five more years to determine how to deal with the Aluminum Company of America. The investigation of the ALCOA action was again postponed, this time until 1961.

This is the way the "antitrust" law "operates" in the United States.

The Mellons began to demonstrate an interest in oil at the end of the last century. The Mellon oil company, Gulf Oil Corporation, was born and raised in the bitter competitive struggle against Rockefeller's Standard Oil.

Gulf Oil acquired oil deposits in Latin America, Canada, the Near East and the Philippines. It penetrated into Italy, Spain and Denmark.

Gulf Oil actively interferes in the internal affairs of other countries. One of the greatest scandals of its time was the gross interference of American ruling circles in the affairs of Columbia for the purpose of ensuring the transfer of rich oil concessions in this country to the Mellon Oil trust. For obvious purposes of extortion, American bankers introduced a financial embargo against Columbia which provoked a political and economic crisis in this country. They forced Columbia to adopt a new law on exploitation of oil deposits which allowed the Mellon concern to obtain the right to work the largest oil deposits in the world for 50 years.

The activity of Gulf Oil outside the United States was especially intensified after the second world war. It demanded a re-examination of Brazilian laws to facilitate seizure of Brazil's oil industry. In this period Gulf Oil obtained a concession in Portuguese East Africa involving an over-all acreage of 45,000 square miles, and in 1956 -- a concession for prospecting and extracting oil in Bolivia covering a territory of 1.6 million hectares for a period of 40 years. Gulf Oil cruelly exploits the workers of many countries at its numerous enterprises situated throughout the entire world, especially in the Near and Middle East and in Latin America. It invariably encourages feudal-serf relations and the most reactionary forces. These serve to support it and help to extort profits.

The Gulf Oil Corporation is an active participant in the international oil cartel in which American monopolies run the show. Joined with four other American and two English corporations, the cartel actually controls all extraction of oil in the capitalist world outside the United States. According to data in Business Week, during the six postwar years these seven corporations received \$12 billion in super-profits from their foreign operations. (Super-profits, as interpreted by the magazine, is that surplus over the profit the corporations would have received had they invested capital in their own countries.)

It is difficult to find a field of defense industry in which Mellon capital has not been invested. The atomic arms race and the production of mass destructive weapons have brought it even greater profits. The Mellon-Rockefeller Westinghouse Electric Company wages a persistent struggle against Morgan's General Electric for control over the atomic industry. This large-scale (second to Morgan's General Electric) American electrical concern manufactures more than 8,000 different types of articles, valued generally at one and one-half billion dollars a year, in its 87 plants throughout the United States. Among these products are equipment for atomic plants, jet engines for the air force and the Navy, and many other military products.

"We place the highest priority on atomic production now," says president Price of Westinghouse Electric.

In this connection, the magazine Time remarked that "atomic production is the favorite child of Price. It grows not by days but by the hour..."

The owners of Westinghouse, as well as other monopolies who profit from atomic and hydrogen weapons, impede the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes not only in their own country but in other capitalist states. They are successful in this in particular, because over the past decade concerns controlled by Morgan, the Mellons, the Rockefellers, and Du Ponts, laid their hands on the most important deposits of uranium in the capitalist world.

The Mellons are seizing the command positions in the industry of many countries. The Westinghouse concern owns shares of the West German electrical machine-building trust of Siemens. After the war it bought many shares cheaply of the Japanese concern of Mitsubishi and encroached on the industry of Italy and other West European countries.

The Westinghouse concern has become interested in a most direct way in maintaining the American occupation of the Chinese island of Taiwan. Westinghouse controls over thirty electric power stations there. In order to make sure that the flow of military contracts does not cease, American monopolies need tension in international relations. For many years the Mellons have liberally financed a number of newspapers in Pittsburg and other cities of Pennsylvania, dictating a propaganda line to them. They seized control over a whole series of newspapers, magazines, radio stations, and television centers outside of Pennsylvania.

Paul Mellon, one of the representatives of this dynasty, acquired a large number of shares of the magazine Newsweek, which occupies itself with systematic propaganda for war and malicious slandering of countries of the camp of peace and democracy. Many Mellon monopolies directly own means of propaganda. The Westinghouse concern alone owns six large radio stations and two television stations.

The financial empire of the Mellons is powerful. But the workers' movement, which is growing and becoming stronger in the bitter skirmishes with its mortal enemy -- monopolistic capital, is shaking the Mellon empire and other oligarchies of big capital to their foundation.

* * *

A dismal court building in Pittsburg. Judges, lawyers, the prosecutor. The accused speaks. The speaker is a courageous man, deeply convinced in the right of his action. He does not defend himself. He is on the offensive, exposes, and accuses.

"I am a member of the Communist Party," he says, "the party of the working class, because I believe in it with all my heart."

These are the words of Steve Nelson, leader of the steel workers and miners of Pennsylvania. Nelson has spent many years of his life struggling against the yoke of monopolies. His childhood was spent in need and deprivation. As a youth, he worked as a carpenter and later as steel worker in a plant of the Jones and Laflin company in Pittsburg, where he fought for the creation of a trade union with other comrades. A quarter of a century ago, Nelson, together with a group of young unemployed workers, was arrested by police for demanding work and bread. Five days later he again marched in a number of demonstrations staged by the unemployed. These were black years of crisis, mass unemployment,

bleek hunger, and misery. But they were also the years of the rise of the workers' movement. Nelson organized the then unemployed in a struggle for their rights, for grants-in-aid, and for work. The police beat him mercilessly and threw him in jail. But again he joined the ranks of the fighters for the cause of the working class.

The course of the struggle against the oppressors of the people brought Nelson into the glorious ranks of the International Brigade which fought against German-Italian fascism on the battlefields of Spain. A determined, selfless fighter, he enjoyed the general confidence and love of his comrades. Nelson was a lieutenant colonel in the Abraham Lincoln (15th) Brigade. There were 3,000 American compatriots in that brigade; 1,800 of them died bravely in battles with fascism. Nelson modestly tells of this heroic period in his life in the book Volunteers. He returned from Spain with a deep scar; a fascist bullet had passed several inches from the spot where, all his life, he retained reminders of the bludgeons of the Chicago police.

But let us return to the Pittsburg court building. Nelson is on crutches: he had received serious injuries in an automobile accident. They dragged him directly into court from a hospital, where they attempted to "take care" of him by sending in a hired killer. But presence of mind and courage did not fail Nelson. He had disarmed the bandit....

Agents of monopolies judged Nelson. Edward Boyle spoke as the chief accuser. He was charged to let Nelson and his comrades rot in prison. The purpose was to terrorize workers and their organizations in the largest center of the defense industry, the state of Pennsylvania.

This happened at the height of the war in Korea. Plants in Pittsburg labored over fulfillment of large military contracts. Into the safes of the Mellons and other manufacturers flowed many billions in profits.

With violent malice the cannon kings of America pounced on those who demanded a termination of the war and a renunciation of the arms race. In search of means to mete out punishment to active proponents of peace, they grasped the so-called law on "incitement to revolt," adopted in Pennsylvania in 1919 during the period of the powerful rise of the strike movement. The Stockholm Appeal for banning atomic weapons, and brochures calling for a struggle for peace against the unleashing of a third world war figures as "material evidence" at the trial, together with the classical works of Marxism-Leninism.

Not one of the 700 lawyers in Pittsburg and neighboring cities decided to undertake the defense of Nelson. They feared persecution and repression. The experienced anti-fascist was forced to defend himself.

Over the head of his judges Nelson appealed to the people. He related how Mellon and other monopolists profited from war, how they were attempting to undermine and crush the growing movement of the advocates of peace -- the insuperable movement of our time. They repeatedly interrupted him and tried to silence him. But Nelson, a Communist-revolutionary, angrily unmasked the enemies of peace and democracy, those who want to fling mankind into the gulf of a new world war.

"We are victims of legal frame up organized by large monopolies profiting from the war in Korea," said Nelson. "Look out the window of the courtroom. No matter where you look, you will see the buildings of large monopolies. You will see the building of the Mellon oil company -- Gulf Oil, the building of the Mellon aluminum company, the building of an electrical company which belongs to the latter, the Mellon bank.

"They arrested us," said Nelson, "when we disseminated the Stockholm Appeal aimed at banning atomic weapons, mending cooperation between all peoples of the world, and ensuring peace. Behind these arrests was also concealed the attempt to check the huge waves of the strike movement which are sweeping over the coal and metallurgical industries."

"The chief criminals in this judicial farce," said Nelson, "are Mellon and Morgan, and the rich men of Pittsburg.... They are making millions from the war... They say: 'If you interfere in our plans, you will land behind bars.' They bear the responsibility for high prices and onerous taxes..."

"They judge me," continued Nelson, "because I fought against war and fascism here in Pittsburg. I uphold the right here in this court, to defend peace no matter what the personal consequences..."

The sentence resounded -- twenty years in prison. They threw Nelson into a dark, damp basement, denied him the right to visitors, the receipt of mail, refused him medical aid, and denied him the right to consult lawyers.

A broad campaign developed throughout the entire country to repeal this brutal sentence, to liberate this courageous fighter for peace. Angry protests came from every corner of the earth. Judge Montgomery, who passed the sentence, was compelled to admit that "so many telegrams and letters had been received that Nelson's prison cell could be filled with them." According to information of the Congress of the Struggle for Defense of Civil Rights, 10,000 letters and telegrams demanding Nelson's liberation on bond were sent to Pittsburg. Under public pressure, the state supreme court was compelled to satisfy the petition to set a bond and to liberate Nelson temporarily after 239 days of imprisonment. Four days later, he was again dragged into court, this time accused of violating the reactionary Smith Law. Nelson was sentenced, in all, to 25 years'

imprisonment. The campaign for Nelson's release broke out with new force. Reaction was forced to recede. The Pennsylvania State Supreme Court admitted that Nelson's conviction for 20 years on the basis of the local law of 1919 on "incitement to revolt" was improper, but the sentence for violation of the Smith Law remained in force. In the spring of 1956 a federal court was obliged to set aside the execution of this sentence also.

The State of Pennsylvania has long been the arena of the most bitter battles of the United States proletariat against its oppressors. An old man grey with age sat among the spectators in that Pittsburgh court room. A wrinkled face, a firm jaw, eyes that shown angrily beneath bushy eyebrows. The old man intently followed the trial of Nelson and his comrades -- James Dolson, the 68-year-old correspondent for the Daily Worker in Western Pennsylvania, and Walter Lowenfels -- a correspondent for the same newspaper in Eastern Pennsylvania.

Pat Cash is 85 years old, but he has a lucid mind and perfect memory. Cash is one of the veterans of the struggle of the American working class. He took part in the famous strike of steel workers of Homestead (near Pittsburgh) in 1892 and since that time had not ceased the struggle in behalf of the working-people. He began working at the age of ten after his father was crushed to death by a runaway freight car. Pat was proud that his father -- an immigrant-worker who fled from Ireland during the potato famine -- was one of the pioneers of the Sons of the Vulcan, the first trade union of workers of the metallurgical industry of the United States. Pat recalled how, on 21 June 1877, ten miners in Pottsville and Mauch Chunk were hanged because they refused to tolerate unbearable working conditions. Later, when the indignation of workers had become still more intensified, Mellon agents hanged ten more miners.

The fortune of the Mellons is founded on the blood of workers, monstrous exploitation, and bloody terror.

"It is impossible to control coal miners without machine-guns," asserted Richard Mellon.

Brutal exploitation and violent terror was the Mellon policy toward workers. If reprisals against workers acquired an especially scandalous nature which provoked public indignation, the Mellons took steps to conceal evidence of their crimes. When the Senate was compelled to set up an investigatory commission to pacify the public during the 1927-1928 strike of Pennsylvania miners, the Mellon Pittsburgh Coal Company sent the following instructions to its managers:

"The United States Senate investigatory commission is now travelling in the Pittsburgh area. Cover up everything that is unsightly. Restrain the police somewhat; try not to resort to arrests; instruct everyone to

avoid disorders. If the commission desires to interrogate our employees, present to them those who will give proper answers to their questions. If the commission interrogates you personally, do not answer questions which in your opinion could damage our interests. The company will protect you..."

The militant speeches of the workers and their craving for organization did not cease. The strike movement in the United States assumed great proportions after the first world war and the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia. In 1918-1919, more than a quarter of a million steel workers and nearly half a million coal miners, railroad and other workers -- in all, over a million people -- went on strike. The Pittsburgh steel workers were among the first ranks of the working class. They were led by William Foster, a prominent figure of the left-wing socialist movement who later became one of the organizers and leaders of the Communist Party of the United States.

The difficult course of the struggle brought Pat Cash into the ranks of the Communist Party. He joined it when he was 60 years old. "I could not do otherwise," he said. "I was born into the struggle..." Cash was not alone. Sons of the working class of America enter their Communist Party to fight among its ranks for their rights, for peace, and against war and capitalistic oppression.

* * *

The steel workers and miners of Pennsylvania are keenly aware of the attack on living conditions and rights of American workers which became intensified after the second world war. In pursuit of maximum profits, the Morgans, Mellons, and other uncrowned kings of America converted the country into a military economy. They increased taxes, inflated prices, and engineered a reduction in wages. The sweatshop system of labor was becoming stronger. The number of workers killed from year to year in industry is figured in five-digit numbers and those maimed -- in seven-digits.

Business Week wrote, "Workers must labor for longer periods and with greater intensity. But instead of better pay they must be satisfied with less...The die is cast. This time nothing remains but the whip." The latter phrase was underlined by the magazine.

Life completely corroborated the sinister prophecy of this organ of big capital. A worker of a Pittsburgh metallurgical plant declared to a correspondent of the Daily Worker, "The owners have set a killing pace of work. Many workers cannot bear it. Pensions and social security are as available to workers as a lark in the sky. Workers are dying before they can count on receiving a pension."

But the workers refused to tolerate such a situation. They launched a counterattack. The strike movement in the years after the Second World War assumed unprecedented proportions in the United States. Statistics bear witness to this fact. In the prewar decade (1931-1940), no more than 22,000 strikes were registered in the United States; 9.5 million workers took part and 145 million man-hours were lost. In the postwar years (1946-1955), the number of strikes increased to 43,000. More than 26.5 million people took part and more than 434 million man-hours were lost.

A keen class struggle has been developing in the United States during these years. The New York World Telegram and Sun wrote in 1955 that the United States had entered a new "period of war on the labor front." The great heat of the strike struggle glowed brightly in 1956 when the strike of 54,000 workers of the Westinghouse company, begun the year before, continued and 650,000 metallurgical workers, 60,000 dock workers, 27,000 workers of aluminum plants, and many others went on strike in the first national strike in the history of the United States. 1957 was marked by a great number of strikes. In the first half of that year alone, 2,075 strikes occurred, many of them of considerable size.

The workers of America, struggling for their daily economic demands, come out more often against the oppression of monopolies, against the aggressive foreign and reactionary internal policy of the ruling circles of the country, and for peace and lasting democracy.

Hell's Kitchen of Charles E. Wilson

V. Volodin

A swearing-in ceremony was taking place in one of the offices of the White House in Washington. Placing his left hand on the Bible and raising his right, Charles E. Wilson -- former head of the Morgan General Electric concern -- in a resounding voice repeated the words of an oath which Truman, then President of the United States, read from a paper. Undersized and unobtrusive in appearance and dressed with the refinement of a commercial traveller, the latter kept in the background beside the stalwart Wilson.

Photographers, admitted by the secretaries, rushed into the office. They had to memorialize that moment when Truman presented Wilson with the scroll of office, which contained unprecedented, indeed dictatorial powers in the field of "industrial mobilization." The reporters were not successful in taking pictures.

A triumphant smile broke on Wilson's face with its short, narrow nose and broad, oaken jaw. Now he held power in his hands the like of which his predecessors in the leadership of the United States war industry

did not have, even in the years of the second world war. The director of the Office of Defense Mobilization, just created, had had concentrated in his hands the control levers of the American industry for the purpose of controlling the growing armaments race.

Wilson's appointment did not surprise anyone. 1950 was coming to an end. On Wall Street, there were expressions of dissatisfaction over the "sluggishness" with which the American economy was converting itself into a military one during the military venture in Korea. Banks and monopolies tried to step up the armaments race sharply, to speed the militarization of the United States economy. The first steps in this direction had already been taken. On orders from Wall Street, Truman declared a "state of emergency" in the country. In the salons of luxurious clubs, to which access was denied even for many "beginning" millionaires, it was decided that leadership of the armaments race should be entrusted to a reliable man. It was considered on Wall Street that an iron hand, an economic dictator was needed. Who could fit this post better than Wilson of the Morgan General Electric, whom American newspapers with respectful familiarity call "Electric Charlie"?

It was for this very reason that the telephone rang on a December Sunday of 1950 in the luxurious, twelve-room private residence of Wilson. The White House was calling.

Truman was on the phone. Respectfully inquiring after the health of the president of General Electric, the President of the United States declared that he needed Wilson for a very important and urgent business. He asked him to fly to Washington quickly.

On Monday the massive figure of Wilson appeared in the White House. As the Washington newspapers reported, Wilson confronted Truman with stiff conditions --- complete freedom of action, subordination (in essence only formal) only to the President, complete power in economic questions, and the right to give orders directly to the secretaries and members of the Cabinet. Truman asked him to grant one day for consideration. The next day all of Wilson's conditions were accepted.

When the President's "executive order" granting dictatorial powers to Wilson in the military mobilization of the United States economy was published in the newspapers, even the worldly-wise Washingtonians gasped. It was stated in the order that Wilson would "manage, control, and coordinate all activities of the government in the field of mobilization... He can realize such functions through such officials and such organs and in such a manner as he sees fit..." Any previous order or directive of the President which conflicted with this order, was superceded.

The Wall Street press, choking, publicized the newly-made economic dictator. Business Week, an organ of big capital, condescendingly patting Truman's shoulder, wrote that there was no need to persuade him and prove

to him that it was proper in this manner "to lash the country with a whip in order to place it in a position where it could wage war." "The powers conceded to Wilson," wrote the magazine, "permit him to interfere in questions of taxation, foreign policy, an even leadership of military operations (in Korea -- V. V.), so far as questions of military supply are concerned."

The Morgan press did not conceal its jubilation. Morgan's competitors were passed over; the distribution of military contracts fell into the hands of "his own man." The Morgan magazine Life was delighted. It wrote that Wilson received "the broadest powers ever conceded a United States civilian, outside of the President himself." "The Office of Defense Mobilization," the magazine observed, "is a super-secretariat whose task is to expand sharply industrial production for war. It will operate as a council which develops policy and issues orders to all other organs connected with defense."

In blurting out the innermost secrets of the American governmental machine, which consists of serving the monopolies, the Morgan magazine revealed the secret of government leadership in America. "Members of government over whom Wilson has certain power" it wrote, "will act as directors of corporations with Wilson as head of the board. Directors of governmental organs will represent vice-presidents of companies, each of whom answers for his particular department and all of whom are accountable to Wilson. Thus, the Morgan magazine compared the United States government to a concern at the complete disposal of the magnates of financial capital. The comparison is a fully legitimate one.

Armaments production, which was not curtailed by Wall Street after the war, was now sharply increased. From now on, everything in the country was subordinate to the general plan of monopolistic capital of the United States; guns, guns, and more guns. This program left its mark on every field of public and political life in the country. One of the Washington magazines declared in plain terms that Wilson headed a machine, "which will control the daily life of every person" in the United States.

* * *

Opposite the left wing of the White House is an old-fashioned building ornamented with pretentious flourishes. In former days there was located here the State Department, in whose many offices sat the diplomatic henchmen of Wall Street. Here Wilson resided with his numerous bureaus and committees. The empty corridors and vestibules were filled with hundreds of officials. Many did not have sufficient room, so anterooms and hallways were subdivided by numerous partitions.

Over the bustling, noisy crowd reigned the voice of Wilson, who spoke by telephone to one or another office. Gruff, unrestrained in his expressions, Wilson often used words which even the impertinent American press could not repeat. He issued orders, demanded, threatened, and berated. The machine of military production, whose tentacles covered the entire United States economy, was turned upside down and gathered momentum.

Newspapers published diagrams of the new system of administration of the United States war industry. From a portrait of the new "economic dictator" in the center of the diagram stretched thick, black threads of control, like a spider's web, to countless circles, squares, and rectangles depicting the different fields of the American economy. Morgan's deputy seized machine-tools, raw materials, and the labor force and concentrated them in his own greedy, tenacious hands.

The administrative apparatus of the "industrial mobilization" became known in Washington as "the second Cabinet." Wilson appointed more than 100 representatives of the largest monopolies on Wall Street to the most important posts in this cabinet. Twenty of them formed a tight, internal circle representing the Morgan "government within a government" and directing affairs in Washington.

Who were these people? Whom did they represent? Whose interests did they uphold? Whose business did they promote? For whose sake did they come to Washington, forsaking profitable, plush jobs on the boards of banks and industrial concerns?

Wilson entrusted the selection of "his people" for the most important posts in his office to banker Sidney Weinberg. It was said in Washington about this small, active, lively man with bustling mannerisms and hurried speech, that he is not only a symbol throughout all large businesses of the country, but is also excellently informed on the actual state of their affairs.

Weinberg is a partner in the well-known Morgan bank of Goldman-Sachs. He is a member of the board of 13 large Morgan companies. Weinberg appointed representatives of large Morgan companies to many important posts in the system of the Office of Industrial Mobilization. When the American press, prompted by Morgan's resentful competitors, raised a fuss over this question and Weinberg was forced to retire, all the chief posts of Wilson's office were filled by direct representatives of the Morgans. The Morgan Moor had done his duty.

Results were not long in coming; the profits curve began to rise abruptly.

During this year following Wilson's appointment as "economic dictator" profits of the Morgan General Electric increased 81.9 percent; profits of Morgan's Continental Can rose 35 percent; and Morgan's Kennecott Copper increased its profits by 102.9 percent. Yearly profits of monopolies in the United States reached an incredible level, exceeding \$50 billion. Here is where the genuine roots of the frenzied arms race lay, and where the initial causes of the aggressive ventures of the United States beyond its borders -- profits -- are found.

* * *

What does Wilson, this former powerful boss in Washington, represent? According to Time, his father died when Wilson was three years old. The family lived in the western port area of Lower Manhattan in New York -- in wretched slums which received the curt nickname among the people of "Hell's Kitchen." Great physical strength and a gruff, aggressive nature helped young Wilson to become ringleader in one of the many gangs which prepared neighborhood youths, transformed into inveterate criminals by capitalist conditions, for gangster "business." According to Time, many childhood friends of "the second President" of the United States, as the press subserviently called Wilson, are now serving lengthy prison sentences in famous Sing Sing Prison.

Wilson never made a secret of the fact that striving to get rich and make a fortune was the basis of his living philosophy.

"I always wanted to make more money," he later related cynically in his biography. "And as quickly as possible."

But, possessing great practical gumption, Wilson decided that the gangster business can bring only temporary profits. Either land in prison or, what is truer, be destroyed by a competitor in overt robbery. Wilson decided to undertake completely "legal" robbery, and where more profitable than Wall Street, located next to "Hell's Kitchen."

At the beginning of the century, when Wilson went to work at the Sprague plant, later turned over to Morgan's General Electric, the workers sought to stick together to repulse their bosses and their watchdogs -- the foremen. This did not suit Wilson. He decided to deal with the boss by himself.

In plants, shops, and mines of America, workers waged a tense struggle to organize trade unions. Plant and factory-owners replied to this struggle with cruel repressions and secret murders of trade-union organizers. Shots often rang out in narrow alleys at night. Leaders of workers engaged in the one-sided battle with monopolists were felled by police bullets.

But Wilson advanced steadily forward. In 1923 Gerard Swope, president of General Electric, who had long noticed Wilson, appointed him chief engineer at a plant of this Morgan company in Bridgeport (Connecticut). Soon Wilson became assistant vice-president of this company and in 1930 — its vice-president. When Swope retired, Wilson was appointed to the post of president of General Electric. At the same time, he became a member of the boards of the Morgan rubber company Goodyear Tire and Rubber and the Morgan bank Guaranty Trust. He became owner of 2,698 shares of General Electric. His salary reached \$200,000 a year, not counting different gratuities. The young assistant boss of the Sprague plant had become a partner to the largest imperialist plunderers in profits and brutal exploitation of workers.

Profit was the chief motive for all Wilson's actions in the service of the Morgans.

The intrusive businessman had only approached the top of the hierarchy in General Electric when he developed an increasing interest in government posts in Washington. This matter, of course, was not his sole personal interest. The Morgans needed mailed fists similar to Wilson in government posts. Even in 1933 Wilson held the post of deputy director of the National Recovery Administration, created by Roosevelt.

Wilson was ordered to Washington for the second time in 1942. His secret task was to provide his firm and other Morgan companies with the largest possible number of military contracts and scarce raw materials. Being in the War Production Board, he quickly started a noisy squabble with the deputy director of the Board, Eberstadt, a banker, who managed the distribution of raw materials and who represented the interests of the banking house of Dillon, Read, and Company. When the skirmish had ended, Eberstadt had been driven into retirement and Wilson had been appointed in his place.

Relating this commonplace episode from the point of view of the Wall Street morals, Wilson's biography states that while occupying Eberstadt's position, the Morgan henchman "directed materials where they were most needed." One can imagine that they were "most needed" by Morgan companies.

In Washington the Morgan henchman behaved like an all-powerful boss. At one of the meetings of the Aircraft Industry Committee, the chief of the Services of Material Supply of the United States Army, General Brehon Somervell (now president of the Mellon Koppers Company), forgetting that it was the chief of American militarists and not their servant who sat before him, attempted to raise his voice to Wilson. Wilson jumped up from his place, ran over to the general, and seizing his collar, began shaking with such force that the medals and badges of excellence on his breast began to jingle. Growling something and reddening, Somervell humbly remained in his place. Since that time the general has displayed

the greatest respect in dealing with the deputy of Wall Street. But, in the words of the newspapers, "Of the many nicknames conferred on Wilson in Washington, there were many which were unprintable."

The ambitious efforts of Wilson were not hampered by the War Production Board. He weaved continuous intrigues against his numerous rivals and competitors. Washington newspapers reported at this time that Wilson had arranged for the wire-tapping of telephone conversations in the office of his chief rival and competitor, the then Secretary of the Navy, James Forrestal of the bank of Dillon, Read, and Company.

A noisy scandal broke out. Nothing remained for Wilson but to deny the accusation. The newspapers published a refutation conveying their apologies to Wilson. There were few people in Washington who doubted that Wilson simply compelled the newspapers to "eat their words" in order to shield himself from the unpleasant incident in which he had become involved.

While in Washington, Wilson energetically increased the profits of the Morgan General Electric or GE, as the American press sometimes called it for short. During Wilson's tenure in the post of director of aircraft production, the industrial empire of the Morgans increased by 35 plants and the number of workers rose to 94,000. Physical output of the industrial production of GE increased five times. Does not this testify to how the imperialist monopolies of the United States grew rich and profited from war?

The second world war was nearing an end. Wilson's task was completed -- GE had picked up many billions of dollars of military contracts and had been transformed into one of the largest "dealers in death." Wilson retired from government affairs. In 1944 he was again "elected" president of General Electric.

* * *

If Charles E. Wilson had been inclined to reminisce while sitting once again on the board of the Morgan concern of General Electric in Schenectady, New York, he could have recalled several incidents of great value to the concern. During the first 50 years of its existence, this Morgan concern (four representatives of Morgan banks sat on its board) achieved a monopolistic position in the capitalistic world. Sixty percent of all American electrical machine-building production belong to it. Even at the beginning of the century General Electric, together with the German Universal Electrical Company (AEG) exercised almost complete rule of electronic equipment in the world market. Toward the end of the second world war, the Morgan giant of the electrotechnical industry proceeded to seize the productive might of all its rivals and competitors. After the war General Electric gained large amounts of stock (from 15 to 49

percent) in electrotechnical firms in Japan, West Germany, France, England, Italy, Morocco, Austria, Belgium, Chile, Holland, Spain, Sweden, and Turkey. The GE trademark was stamped on articles manufactured in plants in Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, Uruguay, and South Africa. According to James Allen, an eminent American economist and expert on monopolies in the United States, almost one quarter of a million workers are employed in firms under the control of the General Electric concern or connected with it outside of the United States. Within the United States, while the incalculable profits of the Morgans multiply, more than a quarter of a million workers toil in 153 plants of the concern. The production of the General Electric concern is worth more than \$3 billion.

An analysis of the profits received by this Morgan concern showed that its yearly profits were approximately 19 percent of the capital invested within the United States and 94 percent of the capital invested abroad.

The arms race and production of weapons for the destruction of people has always been a source of enormous profits for General Electric. After the second world war the bosses of GE, the Morgans, displayed no intention of abandoning profits in the war business.

For this reason, in January 1944, speaking to the so-called Army Armaments Association [American Ordnance Association?] Wilson called for the implementation, after the war, of a broad program which would enable the United States "to be constantly prepared for war, industrially and technically."

The Morgan General Electric concern is now fulfilling this program. Military production of this concern constitutes nearly 45 percent of its total. Jet engines for bombers and fighters, atomic engines for submarines, rocket weapons, military communications equipment, including the newest and most highly specialized types — these are only a part of the list of articles for whose manufacture GE receives enormous contracts from the United States Armed Forces.

"Secret contracts for research and design in the field of radar, sonar (sound-locator equipment), guided missiles, and aviation devices are augmenting an already large volume of contracts," wrote the Magazine of Wall Street and Business Analyst on 29 September, 1956. This very magazine announced that the GE concern is "guaranteed leadership" in the field of military contracts, which it accepted in 1955 for no more and no less than \$570,200,000.

The main objective of profits for this concern now is the production of atomic and hydrogen weapons and the scientific-research work connected with this production.

After 1946 when the Morgan General Electric won out after a lengthy competitive struggle with the Du Ponts over the production of plutonium in Hanford, GE became a monopolist in the manufacture of the main integral component of atomic and hydrogen weapons. In truth, the Hanford plant formally belongs to the American government. GE only "manages" it. This, however, does not prevent it from obtaining solid profits disguised as expenses in the management of this plant. In 1949 this concern received from the government commission on atomic energy which directs all atomic enterprises in the United States, \$120 million to defray its expenses in producing plutonium.

Naturally, the Morgan monopoly has not lost sight of the vast opportunities which the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes creates in the way of profits for capitalist concerns. In his thorough study, Atomic Imperialism, James Allen presents a rather indicative statement by the vice-president of General Electric, Winne, to the Joint Commission of the Congress on Atomic Energy.

Chairman: Doctor Winne, General Electric will naturally enjoy great advantages in comparison to any other firm which is active in the production of electronic equipment when it becomes possible to use atomic energy for peaceful purposes.

Winne: In my opinion the basic consideration which we are guided by generally in this matter (atomic energy), is the fact that atomic energy to a lesser degree is fully capable of becoming a contributing factor in the production of electrical power in the future with greater ease, its dissemination over much wider areas, and at much lower prices than at the present. Any work of such a nature is of interest to General Electric...

But let us return to Wilson. This sworn enemy of the organized labor movement in the United States went at one time, on behalf of the employers of the staff of the so-called National Labor Relations Board? -- a strike-breaking, "government organization" created to stifle the strike movement in the United States. He made every effort to unwrap the American military machine, to prepare for a new arms race and a new war.

Together with his numerous partners, Wilson increased reactionary terror against all progressive organizations, against the American people who abhor monopolies and their policy of the arms race, aggression, and war. In different committees of the National Association of Manufacturers, in which large monopolies of the United States rule, directives were worked out in the struggle not only against Communism, but against all progressive, anti-military sentiments of workers. In August 1954, a law went into effect which banned the Communist Party of the United States. Another step was taken by the will of big capital on the road to reaction and fascism.

The Washington gestapo — the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and "investigatory" commissions in the House of Representatives and the Senate — spies on American citizens day and night. The Wilson apprentices and their partners in profits from military business — the Eastlands, Jenners, Veldes, and others — are frantically raving.

Several years ago the Morgan General Electric stepped up its attack on the progressive trade-union of workers of the electronic and radio industries, attempting to disrupt and destroy it. The notorious Senate subcommittee on investigations was summoned to Schenectady, New York where large General Electric plants are located and to Albany, New York.

The commission immediately got down to work: it summoned the trade-union bosses and the rank-and-file workers and subjected them to an inquisitorial cross-examination. To each was posed the same question: "Are you not a member of the Communist Party of the United States?" Even before the meeting began, the General Electric concern announced that everyone who refused to answer the questions of the commission would be fired.

But workers gave the inquisitors a fitting rebuff at the meeting in Albany. Amid the storm of applause of workers in the audience, A. L. Owens, a welder, angrily retorted to the notorious obscurantist Joe McCarthy, the chairman of the subcommittee:

"I have no rights before this fascist commission. Your Ku Klux-Klan commission intends to deprive me of work. Why don't you, you fascist loafer, undertake an investigation of the activities of General Electric and the profits which it extorts from my people?"

The commission was compelled to break off the meeting. Followed by the contemptuous hooting of the workers, it ran back to Washington under a heavy police escort.

Charles Edward Wilson is not formally in power now; he does not hold an official post in the government apparatus of the United States. He is in the reserves of Wall Street. Charles Edward Wilson, whom the American press calls "Electric Charlie" was replaced as president of the Morgan concern of General Electric by Charles Erwin Wilson, whom the newspapers nicknamed "Motor Charlie," a deputy of big capital and the president of the Du Pont-Morgan concern General Motors. The far from accidental succession was reflected in the accidental circumstance of the almost complete coincidence of names. No matter who predominates in Washington, the Republicans or the Democrats, the real power lies in the hands of large monopolies which reign within the government apparatus of the United States.

Just as before, henchmen of monopolies grab military contracts from each other; just as before, they create international conflicts and strengthen tension in international relations. And the struggle against their criminal activities is, as before, the chief task of the people and, above all, of the people of America.

The Bank of the Dillons and Its International Ventures

V. Morev

Once, in one of the buildings of the French Council of the Republic in Luxembourg Palace in Paris, a verbal inquiry was made to then Prime Minister of France, Mendes-France. The prime minister was asked whether he deemed it necessary to protest immediately "against announcements and speeches of government figures and ambassadors with whose aid leaders and representatives of the allied governments -- England and America -- in defiance of international law and customs, unhesitatingly and openly exert pressure on the government, the parliament, and public opinion of our country by recommending to the parliament that it approve a treaty which it did not sign itself and which is so poorly conceived and composed that no one at the present time can doubt its ruinous effect on all of Europe."

Let us elucidate. The speech concerned the usual American maneuver designed to compel France to ratify a treaty for the creation of a so-called "European army." Unprecedented pressure was exerted by Douglas Dillon, then American ambassador in Paris, speaking before the Association of the American Press in Paris on 29 June 1954. Recalling quite unceremoniously the dollars France received through the Marshall Plan, the American diplomat intimidated the French, threatening them with unrestrained arming of West Germany. Arming for what? In France this was well understood, too well.

Those who knew the hidden circumstances of the matter were not surprised at the statement. Douglas Dillon represented in France not only, or perhaps, not so much the United States as the famous investment bank of Dillon, Read, and Company which has long been connected with the German military-industrial machine, financing it and pushing mobilization for its own capital. Douglas Dillon has given long service to this bank. As early as the age of 22 he was a member of the New York Stock Exchange and at 29 -- vice-president and member of the board of Dillon, Read, and Company. From January 1946 until January 1953, he was its president. Receiving the appointment of ambassador to France, he left the bank, but maintained close ties with it. In all his activities Dillon was governed by its interests.

And this was no accident. No one but Clarence Dillon, the father of the present-day banker diplomat, transformed the banking house of William Read into what it is today -- a bank which exerts influence on the foreign policy of the United States and engages in large-scale international ventures directed toward the preparation and launching of new world wars.

According to an American magazine Avert World War III the William Read banking house, located on Wall Street in New York, quite recently was selected from among ten other banks for its significant capital and influence on the large financial hierarchies of the United States. Its conversion into a plunderer of the first magnitude reverts to that time which Clarence Dillon was in the bank. Read entrusted to Dillon the sale of stock at the largest industrial center of the country -- Chicago. Dillon zealously undertook this brokerage job. A cunning dealer and expert in the psychology of the American wealthy who are prepared to go to any length for profit, he engaged in several speculations which netted large profits not only for the bank but for himself. Resourcefulness and the ability to make a profit under any circumstances were Clarence Dillon's best recommendations. In 1919 he worked in the office of the Read bank in New York as its vice-president. The profits of the William Read banking house grew. And Dillon grew. Soon he gained such great influence in the bank's affairs that he became its president.

On the eve of the 1929-1933 crisis the banking house -- now called Dillon, Read, and Company -- took the first step on Wall Street in spreading out its brokerage operations, whose volume was \$3 billion a year.

The Dillon bank quickly found the most profitable field for its activities -- it reinvested practically all of its capital abroad. This was the best method to penetrate the economies of foreign states, to place them at the service of its own mercenary interests, and to assure itself fabulous profits. The bank offered loans to Brazil, Holland, and Japan. For a short period it became enmeshed in promissory notes of nearly a dozen Latin American countries.

The Dillon, Read, and Company banking house was one of those which financed the German military machine revitalized after World War I. On 5 January 1932 Dillon boastfully declared, "During the postwar period the sum total of loans executed through us -- I do not include loans executed by other banking houses or in which we placed small sums -- was equal to \$1,491,228,549." The statement concerned loans and credit for revitalizing the military-industrial potential of Germany.

The Dillon, Read, and Company bank, together with the National City Bank which belonged to the group of big bosses on Wall Street, served as the basic channels through which American financial magnates were investing in German industry profits made during World War I. Prior to 1932, these two banks floated 20 German loans in the United States.

Penetrating into the German economy, whose conversion to a military economy had been prepared by Krupp, Stinnes, Thyssen, and Schacht, the banking house of Dillon, Read, and Company together with the Morgans, Rockefellers, and other American magnates exerted decisive influence on the policy of German monopolies. It is no accident that the head of German metallurgical concern, Fritz Thyssen, once declared in answer to a question concerning his attitude toward the notorious Dawes Plan ⁽¹⁾: "My position was determined chiefly by what an American banker told me. I have in mind Clarence Dillon, who represents the banking house of Dillon, Read, and Company, with which we had quite friendly relations."

Some time later the same Thyssen published a book in which he related with cynical frankness how German monopolies cultivated Hitlerism and brought Hitler into power. The book was boastfully entitled "I Paid Hitler."

Not only did Thyssen and Krupp pay Hitler, but also his followers. Wall Street monopolists reared fascism and aggression. The financial support of the ruling circles of the United States, by rehabilitating and renewing the heavy and military industries of Germany, was the most important prerequisite to fascist aggression. The Morgans, Rockefellers, and Dillons paid Thyssen. Thyssen paid Hitler. Hitler prepared for a bloody war of nations.

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Several days after the end of World War II two gentlemen appeared on the board of directors of the German ferrous metal concern, Vereinigte Stahlwerke in Dusseldorf. One of them with a short, passerine nose and a crude haircut with a part, was Paul Nitze, vice-president of Dillon, Read, and Company banking house. The gentlemen represented a special American organization, officially created to determine the extent of damages inflicted on German and Japanese industry by Anglo-American "strategic" bombers and, essentially, to establish to what degree the capital investments of American bankers in these countries suffered. Nitze was vice-chairman of this organization, which was called the "Strategic Bombing Survey" (Study of Results of Strategic Bombing). It is opportune to point out that this organization affirmed that only 15 percent of the industrial power of the Vereinigte Stahlwerke was destroyed by bombers. American generals knew where not to drop bombs!

(1). The Dawes Plan was formulated by the American banker Dawes and instituted in 1924 at the London Convention of Victor States in the first world war. The chief purpose of this plan was to strengthen German imperialism and revive German militarism, with whose aid imperialists of all countries intended to destroy the USSR.

Nitze and his companion demanded that they be directed to Walter Rochland, [Roehling?] the director of the concern who was appointed to this post by Hitler in 1943. The American spent ten pleasant days in discussions with Rochland; the old partners in commercial death met and they had much to talk about. The content of the conversation between Nitze and Rochland would have remained unknown had not officials of the section of decartelization of the American Military Government in Germany examined the archives of Vereinigte Stahlwerke shortly afterwards. They found a copy of a letter which Rochland wrote to one of his friends after this visit.

The letter reported that during their ten-day stay "as guests" of Rochland, Nitze and his companion discussed with him the problem of the German military industry's rehabilitation. Nitze then assured Rochland -- an old client of his own bank -- that he and his colleagues had nothing to fear and that "nothing would happen" to their shops, mines, and plants. Rochland enthusiastically corresponded with monopolies in Germany, the United States, and England and the "bridge of friends" was reconstructed.

Restoration of the "bridge of friends" was entrusted to William Draper. This tall, young banker with a drawn face and short delicate ears, served successfully in the rear services during the first world war and thus heard not a single gunshot throughout the war. When the war was ended, Draper, who had time after all to acquire the rank of major, joined the Dillon, Read, and Company bank.

Sitting behind his desk in the bank and correcting profits summaries, the young banker nonetheless advanced within the military ranks. Soon he was promoted to lieutenant colonel and later to colonel. Simultaneously his advancement in his banking career continued. He became vice-president of the Dillon, Read, and Company bank.

When the second world war broke out in Europe, Draper in 1940, transferred his services to the War Department located in Washington. The resourceful banker found a safe place for himself here. He was appointed chief of the "Furlough Group, Morale in the Army Section".

It was 1941. The United States had entered the war. But the Dillon, Read, and Company bank had no intention whatsoever of subjecting its vice-president to the dangers of war. In March 1944 banker Draper, who by now had reached the rank of general, was transferred to the headquarters of the American army, to the section on military contracts. He served there until the end of the war.

Mentions of Draper began to appear in the American press as the war neared to an end and Soviet guns pounded the den of the fascist aggressors. Quickly liquidating his supply affairs in Washington, Draper, in May 1945, was sent to Germany literally days before the end of the war. Concealed

as a harmless economic advisor to the American military command, "General" Draper, vice-president of the Dillon, Read, and Company banking house, went to save the German clientele of his bank from destruction — the Hitler cartels, to revive old ties with them, and establish new ones.

Draper was not sent to Germany alone. He accompanied a group of representatives of large Wall Street monopolies deeply interested in preserving the German monopolies in which they had large capital investments. Among them was Phillip Reed, chairman of the board of the Morgan General Electric; Rufus Wiser[?] director of Republic Steel Corporation; appointed later to head the department of ferrous metals of the economic administration of the American Military Government in Germany; and a certain Frederick Devereux, former president of one of the many affiliates of Morgan's International Telephone and Telegraph Company.

Arriving in Germany, Draper quickly surrounded himself with representatives of German banks and monopolies with which the Dillon, Read, and Company bank had close business connections before the war. As his closest advisor he appointed the German financier A. Kreiter, who for many years headed the German Credit and Investment Corporation, established in 1920 through American loans and whose obligations were held in the United States by the Dillon, Read, and Company bank.

It is quite interesting that the Kreiter corporation, which was closely connected with the Dillon, Read, and Company bank, organized a special banking syndicate in 1942 to plunder European countries occupied by German Hitlerite armies. Although the syndicate-marauder, which was called Societe du Credit Internationale, was located in Vichy, banks of Hitlerite Germany were active in it.

But let us return to the postwar period. With the aid of a group of people selected by him, Draper entered upon the realization of a Wall Street program aimed at disrupting decisions of the Berlin Three-Power Conference, which was committed to liquidate Nazi cartels and the German military-industrial potential.

The story of all the intrigues of Draper, Wall Street's deputy, would take much space. We shall limit ourselves to merely a few of them. One of Draper's first moves was the rescue of German war criminals — leaders of large German financial and industrial monopolies. How was this done? First of all, Draper saw to it that judges were chosen who were obedient to Wall Street. Robert Jackson served as chief prosecutor at the trials of war criminals at Nuremburg. He was a member of the United States Supreme Court, the same man about whom the famous American journalist George Marion wrote: he advised former President of the United States Truman "not to conduct trials of war criminals who were industrialists in common with Russians, Englishmen, and Frenchmen," because "the Russians are unmasking the role of big capital in war and aggression." On Jackson's advice, the President announced that the United States would conduct this trial separately.

By that time the selection of judges had been undertaken by the then Assistant Secretary of War, Patterson, who had direct connections with the occupation government of West Germany. He was closely connected with the law firm of Cawath, de Gersdorff, [Swaine], and Wood, which represented, at that time in the United States, the interests of the omnipresent German monopoly of I. G. Farben and received large fees for services rendered to it.

Is it no wonder that the American judges selected in such a way attempted to relieve their German Wall Street partners of responsibility for profiting from wars and imperialistic usurpation?

In the spring of 1948 the trial of Hermann Schmidt, George von Schnitzler, Karl Kranch, Max Ilgner, and others, directors of the I. G. Farben monopoly-octopus, ended.

The people who headed IGF completely admitted their responsibility for the policy of war and aggression conducted by the Hitlerites. Nevertheless, they were adjudged innocent "of crimes against peace and criminal conspiracy to wage aggressive war." Merely to calm public opinion, 13 of the 22 accused were sentenced to short prison terms.

How did Draper and his apprentices from Wall Street disrupt the program established at Potsdam to liquidate Nazi cartels?

In September 1947 Martin, former director of the department of so-called decartelization of the American Military Government in Germany, published a series of articles in the New York Post in which he presented interesting information on Draper's activities. Martin asserted that "reorganization of cartels in Germany has been cancelled and an opportunity has been given to Nazis to resume their old posts." It is hard to believe, reported the New York Post on 8 December 1950, that 20 large German steel concerns have become "stronger than ever before."

Here, for example, is how American monopolists have "revived" the German cartel of Robert Bosch, which produces electrical equipment for automobiles and aircraft engines. The Daily Compass gave an account of this history on 1 March 1950.

The Hertzos brothers, who represented Bosch's concern in Athens before the war, opened the Industrial Products Trading Company in Switzerland. Although the Hertzos brothers maintained that they had founded the company on their own capital, it was clear that they were dummies. Bosch had loaned them the basic capital. The Bosch commercial travelers permitted Americans to take part in this company. Upon the recommendation of one of the officials of the American Military Government in Germany, whose name the newspaper did not give, they enlisted Major General Wilson into the company. One-third of all the company's stock was transferred to him without charge. Actually, this was a poorly disguised bribe.

One of the numerous Washington commissions which investigated the activities of the American Military Government in the United States summoned Wilson for questioning in connection with this affair. "However," wrote the Daily Compass, "the fact was that the general was very intimate with Clay (then American deputy in West Germany) and his deputy General Hayes." Moreover, Wilson was also intimate with another general, Vaughn, aide to former President Truman. His shady transaction was left unpunished.

With the loyal collaboration of German monopolies, who were prepared to betray the national interests of the Germany people, American capital rushed into the West German economy, capturing its most important sectors. The New York Times in November 1949 wrote that the foreign affairs ministers of the United States, England, and France received a memorandum from West German circles appealing for strengthening of foreign (i.e., American) capital in the German steel trust of Fereinigte Stalwerke.

Negotiations were quickly begun concerning the transfer to American companies -- Du Pont's General Motors, Morgan's General Electric, and the Ford company -- of stock in the Fereinigte Stalwerke steel trust in Dusseldorf, essential plants of Krupp, the machine building concern of Mannesmann, the Otto Wolf concern, and others.

While Draper and Nitze operated "locally" in the name of profit for the Dillon, Read, and Company bank, James Forrestal, former president of this bank, ruled in Washington.

Forrestal obtained quick promotions in the bank. In 1923, seven years after his joining this bank, he was joint owner of it. Forrestal played a prominent role in credit operations for German heavy industry, the basis of the German military-industrial potential.

In 1937 he became president of the bank, replacing Clarence Dillon, who had temporarily retired from this post. Forrestal used transactions with German monopolies to take part in the direction of these monopolies and share in their profits.

In 1941 and 1942 Forrestal, being Assistant Secretary of the Navy of the United States, was a member of the board of an American affiliate of I. G. Farben -- a company called General Aniline and Film Corporation.

Before the end of the war Forrestal became one of the chief representatives of Wall Street in Washington who directed the United States policy of renouncing international collaborations. In May 1944 he decisively opposed ideas for establishing an international organization of peace and security, about which negotiations were then being conducted which would lead subsequently to the founding of the UN. Forrestal declared plainly that "the basis of any new international system ... must be the naval and air power of the United States Navy."

Attempting to provide a "theoretical" basis for his aggressive activities, Forrestal openly advocated the Hitler "theory" that war supposedly represents "the normal state of mankind."

Such statements were mere hollow declarations. Attempting to realize quickly the general plans of Wall Street for militarizing the country, Forrestal promoted feverish activity aimed at reorganizing the armed forces. His efforts to a significant degree made possible the creation of the so-called Department of Defense — the unified center which directs the aggressive military machine of the United States.

James Forrestal was appointed Secretary of "Defense." In March 1947, urging the Senate Armed Services Committee's swift adoption of a project to combine the armed forces, Forrestal declared that this project "will enable the United States to use its entire defensive force against any future enemy...to insure the agreement of foreign and internal policy, the civilian economy, and military demands, and will foresee the ceaseless fulfillment of United States needs for raw materials."

The international public estimated the true worth of Forrestal's feverish activity, which was aimed at militarizing the country, when it nicknamed it the "Forrestal War."

The Dillon, Read, and Company investment bank, with which Forrestal constantly maintained close ties throughout his stay in the Pentagon, had long since fulfilled numerous missions for the Rockefellers, the American "oil kings." When the Rockefellers organized the Arabian American Oil Company (ARAMCO) to steal oil riches from Saudi Arabia, a company in which there was only one Arabian name, the Dillon, Read, and Company bank floated several loans for the Rockefeller oil companies on the New York Stock Exchange for \$185 million. In one year alone (by far not the most profitable) ARAMCO paid the two Rockefeller companies \$22 million in profits. At this time a large sum found its way to the Forrestal bank of Dillon, Read, and Company. It is not surprising then that all of Forrestal's activities smelled strongly of oil.

While still Assistant Secretary of the Navy, and later as Secretary Forrestal bought oil for the United States Navy from Rockefeller's ARAMCO at \$1.05 a barrel, when it could have been purchased at \$0.40 a barrel. How much of this money found its way to the personal account of Forrestal remains a secret.

Forrestal's shady oil transactions caused quite a sensation. Competitors of Rockefeller oil companies opened a campaign around these transactions. But, as the New York Post reported on 22 May 1948, Forrestal hushed up the affair in the end. It is quite characteristic that statements, as a decisive argument against such investigations, were expressed to the effect that an investigation leads to the secret sources of American policy

and enables the democratic foreign press to "compromise," that is, unmask and show in an authentic, unfavorable light one of the inspirers of the aggressive American policy of the arms race, "the cold war," and the policy of force.

* * *

In Bethesda, one of Washington's suburbs, not far from a broad highway rises the sombre, tall, narrow, like an elevator, building of the Naval Hospital. Here on a May morning in 1949 on the veranda of the third floor was found the body of James Vincent Forrestal. He had jumped at night from an eleventh-story window. Thus did the former president of the Dillon, Read, and Company bank, the great leader of Wall Street, the inveterate enemy of peace, the initiator of numerous imperialistic ventures of American monopolies end his life. But Forrestal's colleagues in the Dillon, Read, and Company bank are continuing his activities, which were inimical to the interests of the people.

The diplomatic office of Douglas Dillon in Paris bearing the sign "United States Embassy in Paris" is operated in grand style. According to an August 1956 issue of United States News and World Report, the staff of this embassy consists of 2,485 people (!!). It is located in seven buildings and \$11.5 million are expended each year for its maintenance. Special telegraph lines connect it directly with American embassies in London, Rome, Brussels, The Hague, the Scandinavian countries, Bonn, Tunis, and even Karachi. "The communications system," the magazine wrote, "testifies to the scale and complexity of the functions of the United States embassy in Paris, which are partially dictated by its geographical location in the center of Western Europe. This network was created at a time when Paris was the regional headquarters for fulfillment of the Marshall Plan, when the United States was expending up to \$5 billion a year in aid to many European countries. This network was expanded when D. Eisenhower directed his activities from Paris while creating the NATO army with the aid of billions of American dollars and weapons." The magazine noted that many small American missions are also found in Paris, representing 15 US government establishments and organizations, which fulfill obligations abroad which the development of events demands as, for instance, strengthening American military power in the world. "Ambassador Dillon," the magazine concluded, "coordinates the activities of all American representatives in Paris."

The Dillon, Read, and Company bank and its agents weave their intrigues throughout the entire world. But the democratic people of the entire world keep a vigilant watch over this mischievous activity.

American Atom-Mongers

N. Novosel'skiy

on the morning of 6 August 1945 an American heavy bomber dropped an atom bomb on the Japanese city of Hiroshima. Later a second atom bomb was exploded, this time over the city of Nagasaki. Tens of thousands of peaceful citizens were killed and maimed. Harry Truman, then President of the United States, gave the order for the atom bombing of these Japanese cities.

Of course, the barbaric mass killings in Nagasaki and Hiroshima were not provoked by any military necessity. The bombs were not dropped for the purpose of speeding the war's end. There was another purpose here -- to set the stage for atomic blackmail and to intimidate those who opposed American plans to establish the world supremacy of Wall Street imperialists.

A monopoly in the field of atomic weapons was viewed by ruling circles in the United States as a reliable guarantee that these plans would be crowned with success. But this monopoly had been in existence for only a short time. In 1949 the whole world learned that the Soviet Union had atomic weapons at its disposal. Soon everyone was convinced that the USSR was not only not lagging behind the United States in the production of new types of weapons -- atomic and hydrogen -- but in some respects had outstripped it.

However, this indisputable fact did not sober the American imperialists. They stubbornly pursued the hazardous "policy of force," the strategy of lightning atomic war. Aircraft and weapons of mass annihilation are assigned the role of the striking force. The "air doctrine" of war has now become the official doctrine in the United States. "The doctrine of the future has been created," wrote Brigadier General D. O. Smith of the United States Air Force in his book Military Doctrine of the United States. "For the first time in our history the decisive role of the Air Force has received official acknowledgement." Admiral Radford, former chairman of the American Joint Chiefs of Staff, says that at the present time fundamental emphasis has been placed on the maintenance and use of modern aircraft which is needed above all to perform offensive and defensive operations and to support other forces.

Adoption of this doctrine by American imperialism is no accident; on the contrary, it reflects the current stage of its development, when, for the sake of its own excess profits, American monopolies are prepared to commit serious crimes against all mankind.

"The transition to a strategy of atomic air war," Herschel Meyer, a progressive American publisher, wrote in this connection, "completely agrees 'by accident' with efforts of large monopolies to obtain still higher profits. Monopolists have discovered that production of ordinary munitions provides a much lower rate of profit than experimentation,

research, and production of superpower weapons...High military authorities in Washington recognize that the Soviet Union cannot be conquered, and that it is impossible to hamper four-fifths of mankind living in Europe and Asia and alter their social systems, with guns alone. For this reason their aim is to bring life itself to a standstill by calling forth vast destruction by means of hydrogen bombs which can destroy whole cities in an instant.

"They hope that war, resulting in vast destruction, will not only retard the material growth of socialist countries, but will halt the advance of other countries toward socialism; it will secure the preservation of a status quo; and it will 'convince' mankind that henceforth those governments which follow the road to socialism will be plunged into war to their destruction.

Wall Street's plans for World War III and its decision not to participate in land wars and 'not to place great emphasis on infantry,' reflect the historical fact that imperialism is losing power on land and therefore entrusts its last hopes to ruling the world from the air."

The essence of the modern military doctrine of the United States is absolutely clear. In the system of military blocs of modern imperialism, the United States has concentrated in its hands the production of powerful strategic aviation and aircraft for delivering atom bombs. They plan to use them chiefly from air bases situated around the Soviet Union. To their partners in the military blocs the United States has entrusted the creation of ground troops, combat or front aviation, and auxiliary troops, placing greatest emphasis upon the development of West German armed forces.

Often repeated in statements of American political and military leaders there is the opinion that American strategy must be based on the use of atomic weapons, as they say, "for tactical purposes," that is, within the limits of battle fields and theaters of military operations. What is concealed behind such arguments? Considering the geographic remoteness of America, these rulers have considered the fact that atomic weapons would find their chief use above all on the territory of Europe and certainly far from the industrial centers of America.

American monopolists seemingly understand the reality of atomic counterattacks and do not object if, in the course of armed conflict, millions of people and much that is valuable in countries to which they are allied -- West Germany, Italy, France, England, and others -- are destroyed by these death-dealing weapons.

Can these schemes of "cunning strategists" be realized? No, they cannot. It is now impossible to wage war without exposing oneself to counter blows. If one wants to strike atomic blows on an enemy, then he should be prepared to receive the same and perhaps more powerful blows.

The chief threat to peace now comes from the United States. Aggressive circles in the United States do not want peaceful coexistence and collaboration among nations. They foster the reckless dream of world domination and therefore oppose any disarmament and feverishly prepare for war. Their chief stake now lies in building up atomic-aviation arms with which they hope to win in a future war.

But this stake of aggressive American imperialism can be considered nullified, for the Soviet Union, apart from all its other advantages, is not only not lagging behind in the field of armaments of this type, but, in many respects, has outstripped the United States. The decisive influence of air forces and antiair defense troops has increased significantly with the Soviet Armed Forces. The Soviet Armed Forces now possess a sufficiency of different types of atomic and thermomuclear weapons, powerful rocket and jet arms of different types, and also long-range rockets. The party and government are directing special attention to the development of the armed forces as the most important means of ensuring the security of our motherland. The first-rate jet aircraft of the USSR is capable of solving any tasks which would confront it in the event of an aggressor's attack.

In spite of everything, however, American monopolists and the military clique in the Pentagon by no means want to part with their impossible dream of achieving "air superiority." As usual, Senator Richard Russell demanded of the United States Congress the creation in the coming years of "the strongest air force in the world." With each year, the United States government and Congress assign greater appropriations to military aviation and different atomic weapons, including intercontinental ballistic missiles with atomic warheads. Through the demands of atomic maniacs in the Pentagon and the Congress, the post of Assistant Secretary to the Secretary of Defense for Guided Missiles was even established, to which Edgar Murphy, president of the Esso Research and Engineering Company, was appointed. Atomic aviation generals now occupy dominating positions in the Pentagon. They coolly formulate plans of atomic war which threatens the mass annihilation of people and vast destruction in all countries of the world. These generals, closely connected with military-industrial monopolies, have gained much greater influence in the policy of the United States.

Who are these leaders of this "assault" atomic-aviation force which is preparing to repeat the crimes committed at Hiroshima and Nagasaki for the sake of profits of American monopolistic capital?

General Twining. General LeMay. General Norstad.

* * *

The Pentagon in Washington, Room No 4E-929. Behind a desk sits a "man with four gold stars on his shoulders, with greying hair, but dark-browed, with a square nose and a large jaw." Such, according to Time, is the appearance of General Nathan Twining, chief of staff of the American Air Forces. He did not achieve this high post without reflection: the 60-year-old professional militarist enjoys the special confidence of American monopolies. The son of a rich banker from the city of Monroe, Wisconsin, Twining is committed to his class body and soul. A graduate of the United States Military Academy at West Point, Twining devoted almost 40 years of his life to a military career, of which 30 were in the air force.

It is said that the American pilot who dropped the atomic bomb decided to end his days at a monastery. But Twining, commander of this operation, has seemingly experienced no such pangs of conscience. Arguing furiously, he propagandizes atomic war as usual.

In his first public address (in Dallas, Texas) after his appointment as chief of the Air Force, Twining stated that "strategic aviation bombardment of Soviet Russia is more expedient than operations against it from the East."

Like other leaders of the Pentagon, Twining is an ardent proponent of the strategy of surprise attack and the "strike the first blow" with nuclear weapons. "Striking the first blow" now promises much greater advantages to the attacker than ever before," declared Twining in his speech at the congress of the Association for the Air Force in the city of Omaha, Nebraska.

Neither the Soviet Union, nor China, nor other countries of the socialist camp have any intention, as is well-known, of attacking the United States. They have not built military bases around America. By talking about the "defensive" mission of American bases on foreign territory and about the readiness of the United States to "counterattack," American ideologists of atomic aggression want to delude the American people and other nations of the capitalist world.

Twining considers American air bases on foreign soil an important weapon for realizing the aggressive plans of the United States. Here is what he said in an interview published in United States News and World Report:

"Question: Do you consider it absolutely necessary to have bases situated quite close to the territory of the enemy for the purpose of performing frequent raids?

Answer: I consider this highly advisable.

Question: Does this mean that long-range bombers cannot cope with their missions?

Answer: The mission will be more difficult and demand more time for fulfillment if we are compelled to operate only from bases located within our own hemisphere."

The growing defensive might of the Soviet Union and the entire camp of democracy will not let the bellicose chief of the American Air Forces sleep placidly. He is compelled to consider this power. His statements on this consideration are quite typical.

"We, of course, do not know everything about the Soviets," he said in the above interview, "but we do know that they are not lagging. If they want something and know firmly what they want, in my opinion, they are prepared to go to any length to get it... We of course must not assume that they are not progressing in the field of long-range aviation, too."

It would seem that there is present here a telling, persuasive argument in favor of giving up a "policy of force" and the arms race which is ruinous for nations. But no, for Twining and his chiefs this is only grounds for further, more intensive military preparations and continuation of a feverish pursuit after a spectral "military superiority."

Attempting to convince the peoples of countries in the North Atlantic bloc that a superior military force ostensibly remains, nevertheless, on the side of the United States, atomic-aviation strategists advertise such "new" means as guided atomic missiles. In Twining's words, work is underway in the United States to create an "intercontinental ballistic missile" capable of travelling at 10,000 miles an hour. "We must achieve the creation of such a missile before the Communists." But on 27 August 1957 a TASS announcement published in the Soviet press told of the successful testing in the USSR of an intercontinental ballistic rocket as well as the explosion of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons.

"The flight of the rocket," said the announcement, "occurred at a very great altitude which, until recently, had not been reached. Traveling a tremendous distance in a short time, the rocket fell in an appointed area."

"Results received showed that it is possible to send rockets to any region on the earth. The solution of problems in the creation of intercontinental ballistic rockets makes it possible to reach remote regions without resorting to strategic aviation..."

Atomic war is extremely dangerous for western countries with their heavily populated industrial centers concentrated in comparatively limited areas. This is fully relevant to the United States. General Twining knows this. But he does not care for the people or their interests. The atomic

maniac who dreams of a "push-button war" which he could wage sitting in his office, is prepared to sacrifice millions of lives of his compatriots to his greedy bosses on Wall Street, who consider war as a means of escaping from ruinous economic crises.

"Even an attack on our large cities," declared Twining, "no matter how terrible, cannot break us. We plan to win the war no matter how many Americans might be killed..."

"This gives little consolation to people living and working in Boston, Chicago, Detroit, Washington, and other large American cities," dolefully observed the American journalist Shriner, to whom Twining expounded these delirious ideas in an interview.

But these ideas provided General Twining new advancement. On 15 August 1957, he assumed the post of chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the United States, that is, the actual leader of all three branches of American armed forces.

* * *

May and June of each year, when the American Congress discusses and adopts a budget for the new fiscal year, is a period of especially frenzied military hullabaloo in the United States. Especially loud calls for strengthening the arms race are raised from the rostrums of both houses of Congress and their commissions, and from the pages of newspapers and magazines. Air force and other generals, who distribute government contracts to industrial monopolies for military aircraft, atomic weapons, etc., have played a most active role in this propaganda in recent years.

A significant number of American generals have been transformed over recent years into direct agents of monopolies and their "lobbyists", with whose aid Wall Street receives large military appropriations from year to year. Monopolies pay generously for these services. They appoint retiring generals to high-paying positions in industrial concerns. Examples are not hard to find. All top military leaders of the United States who retired in recent years -- G. Marshall, Douglas MacArthur, Bradley, Ridgway, Van Fleet, Clay, and many others -- now hold "cushy" jobs on the boards of the largest industrial monopolies in the United States. The incredible salaries which the monopolies pay them is compensation for valuable services rendered.

"A new phenomenon after the second world war," wrote the liberal American weekly Nation, "was the mass movement of high-ranking military figures, even four- and five-star generals, to private industry, where high-paying administrative posts have been prepared for them. Companies have done this to hire their influence in military circles.... Thus, such a case is possible: an officer on the General Staff of the Air Force urgently recommends the purchase of aircraft from a certain aviation

concern, although the airplane, perhaps, has provoked many arguments among the experts. Then, two years later, you find that same four-star general, now retired, in the post of a high-paid president of the corporation which manufactures this airplane..." This is one of the examples reported in the American press in October 1955.

The Naval Air Corps concluded a contract for delivery of F3H jet fighters from the McDonnell Aircraft Corporation and Westinghouse. Although 11 of these airplanes crashed, killing several fighter pilots, the contract was continued for some time. An official investigation showed that Rear Admiral Lloyd Ericson, former deputy chief of the Aeronautics Administration of the Navy, (now retired) had been opposed to revoking the contract, despite the accidents involving the airplanes. He explained that the opinions concerning the production of the companies involved were sound. But then, one pleasant day in September 1955, Lloyd Ericson went into retirement and assumed the position of vice-president of the McDonnell Aircraft Company. Before a Congressional committee he admitted that this position had been offered to him in March 1955, approximately five months before his retirement.

Just as the now retired generals once strove for monopolies, so generals now holding leading positions in the Pentagon are striving, with the Air Force generals headed by Twining taking first place. Congress appropriated \$16.9 billion for the United States Air Force in 1956-1957. But for General Twining this was a small amount. He called this budget "stingy." Outfitting 137 regiments of the Air Forces with modern equipment, he declared, requires a significant increase in appropriations for aviation.

Of course, atom-monger-generals who fight for continuation of the arms race by order of the monopolies are not alone. Senators, members of the House of Representatives, and also numerous press organs assist them.

Take, for example, such a magazine as United States News and World Report. The inveterate war-monger, D. Lawrence, owns it and is its editor. The magazine is closely associated with both the leaders in Washington and military-industrial companies, in particular, aircraft firms. The latter generously finance this magazine, by publishing advertisements of their own products in it. Being at the same time a foreign political reviewer for the New York Herald Tribune, Lawrence, like many other journalists such as the Alsop brothers and Talbert, who is the special military reviewer for that newspaper, systematically intimidates Americans with the threat, fabricated by himself, of a "Soviet air attack" and demands greater and greater increases in government expenditures for military aviation, atomic weapons, and "intercontinental missiles."

* * *

General Curtis LeMay has served in American military aviation for over a quarter of a century. The first seven years he flew in fighters and in 1937 selected bombers as his specialty. LeMay commanded a bomber squadron of the 8th Air Regiment of the United States in England and later was transferred to the Far East theater. At the age of 38 he became a major general (this rank correspond to lieutenant general in European armies). With the end of the war he commanded the Air Forces of the United States in Western Europe. From the end of 1948 until 1957 LeMay commanded the strategic air force of the United States. Now he is deputy chief of the American Air Forces.

The headquarters of the Strategic Air Command is located at Offut Air Base near the city of Omaha. From here the headquarters directs a broad network of American bomber bases situated on United States territory and abroad, on the territory of countries dependent on the United States.

American pilots and crews of medium and heavy bombers are trained on these bases.

Time stated that the American air force is preparing for bombing raids.

It turns out that crews of airplanes of the Strategic Air Command "describe arcs of greater circles around the earth every day, in any weather, at altitudes of 12 kilometers and more, training and increasing their skills."

"Once every three months," wrote Time, "the crew of each airplane performs a fatiguing training flight over a distance equal to that between the United States and Russia, and back. This is a realistic exercise to test the condition of flight personnel.... Each of the crews now has a definite objective assigned to him in Russia or in other countries. The pilots must know by heart and to the smallest detail everything which concerns the fulfillment of their future mission in bombing these objectives and in returning the airplane to one of the American bases. Like his chief, Twining, LeMay is an advocate of the theory of the "strike the first blow."

A correspondent of the British newspaper Daily Mirror, who visited the Offut Air Base in February 1955 told about the atmosphere of war hysteria which reigns in the headquarters of the Strategic Air Command and about the frantic war propaganda which is spread among pilots. He wrote, "The headquarters of the Strategic Air Command is located in Omaha in the very center of America.... Here doctrines supporting world superiority by means of aviation are studied, developed, and boldly enunciated... The first and most important responsibility of the Strategic Air Command is that it be in a state of readiness at any moment to begin a full atomic war. It could begin operations against Russia within two hours...."

"It has never occurred to American pilots to doubt who their enemy might be in time of war. It is Communist Russia, Communist Russia, and once more Communist Russia. They are absolutely concentrating their attention on the Soviet Union and speak out against the Soviet Union."

The British correspondent might easily be convinced that in General LeMay he is dealing with one of the most zealous advocates of "preventive" war.

LeMay's blunt calls for unleashing atomic aggression jarred even this worldly-wise journalist of a bourgeois British newspaper. "I told him," wrote the correspondent later, "that many of us in England consider that 10 hydrogen bombs dropped on 10 of our largest cities will undoubtedly destroy us, and we will be out of the war for good. I further said that, in our opinion, as soon as nuclear weapons are used we will be drawn into the war and that such a prospect is hardly attractive."

The uneasiness expressed by this British journalist, and shared by the wide masses of British people, is completely valid. England is now one of the chief centers of concentration of Strategic Air Command bases. More than 24 air bases, on which are deployed two Air Force divisions and other similar units totaling 45,000 soldiers and officers, are located in the British Isles. Brigadier General Stevenson, commander of one of these divisions (the 49th), declared in 1954 that his division was equipped with bombers designated for atomic strikes on the Soviet Union and that this mission was assigned to the division two and one-half years before.

Stevenson's admission attracted the attention of the British public to the threat which the presence of the Air Force bases of the American aggressors on their soil represented to the security of England. The British military writer, Liddell Hart, who has no special sympathy for the Soviet Union, gave this wise advice: "If American leaders want to start hurling atom bombs, our leaders must demonstrate greater wisdom in order to restrain them from this ... He who lives in a glass house should not throw stones."

The network of American Air Force bases is expanding each year not only in England, but in other countries of Western Europe. While the impudent frankness of the LeMays, Stevensons, and other American militarists have not unmasked it, American propaganda is prone to depict these bases as a harmless means of "defense" against mythical threats.

This propaganda is spread for purposes of deceiving the people. Every sensible person understands that United States Military bases situated around the USSR, China, and countries of the people's democracy were not

created for defense because they are situated far away from the objectives which they must defend. These bases were created, of course, for purposes of aggressive strategy and for delivering blows with atomic aviation.

According to information which is far from complete, the United States has no less than 100 air bases on foreign soil. There are especially many bases in Western Europe. Within the blessing of the council of the aggressive North Atlantic Bloc (NATO), which adopted a decision in December 1954 on preparing for atomic operations in a future war, all these bases and the air units stationed on them have now been rebuilt in conformity with "atomic," that is aggressive, offensive strategy founded on the use of mass annihilation weapons. These American bases and their airplanes were aimed at preparing for atomic war long before the NATO council's decision was made. It was no accident that the ruling circles in Washington entrusted the command of all these bases to a third -- after Twining and LeMay -- inveterate atom-monger from among the Air Force generals -- Lauris Norstad.

* * *

The bloody atomic slaughter, which cost the lives of thousands of peaceful Japanese citizens, brought satisfaction to the ambitious efforts of 50-year-old General Norstad. "Tall, lean, with the appearance of a Hollywood film actor, Norstad was a first lieutenant when the Nazis invaded Poland. By the end of the war he was a major general," wrote Newsweek. Now Norstad wears the four stars of a full general. Until recently he occupied the position of deputy supreme commander-in-chief of the Air Forces, and now he is supreme commander-in-chief of NATO armed forces in Europe.

Located at his headquarters in Wiesbaden, West Germany, Norstad took an active part in putting together an aggressive military bloc in Western Europe, and in preparing West Germany's involvement in it. Each year he conducted large-scale maneuvers of air units of the United States and its West European satellites, achieving coordination of operations among them and their eventual consolidation into one air army under the American command. His chief demand was "More bases!" "The construction of new bases and the modernization of those now in existence is the chief task which stands before me," Norstad declared in 1951. The general lamented that the creation of a network of bases was still proceeding "very slowly." "He considers that the chief fault lies in politics," wrote Newsweek in a feature story devoted to Norstad's activities, meaning by "politics" the resentment of social circles in Western European countries against American occupation. Norstad admits, the magazine disclosed, that there is a very strong sentiment in France against any type of system of "European command."

For this reason Norstad demanded that American diplomacy exert greater pressure on the governments of Western European countries in order to break the resistance of their peoples to the building of American bases. Washington pressured, and more circles with symbolic images of airplanes appeared on the map of Western Europe. The French, West German, and Belgian peasants left their homes of many years, tore down their villages, and converted their fields and pastures into airfields to which the newest American planes, together with maintenance personnel, soldiers, and officers, came from the United States.

The replacement of General Gruenther in the post of supreme commander-in-chief of NATO armed forces in Europe by General Norstad is new evidence that American strategists are shifting their chief emphasis to an atomic-hydrogen war.

Norstad had hardly received his new appointment when he demanded "further strengthening of NATO's military might." Speaking at a press conference in May 1956, he welcomed the decision of the United States to supply armed forces of the North Atlantic bloc with new atomic weapons and emphasized that he considers the accelerated rearmament of West Germany one of NATO's chief tasks. "It is vitally important," he declared, "that Germany fulfill her military obligations as soon as possible. The slow rate of rearming Germany is one of the weak points in the military might of NATO." Norstad belittled in every possible way the new peaceful act of the USSR -- the reduction of the Soviet Union's armed forces by 1,840,000 men.

In contrast to the coarse martinet LeMay, General Norstad at times loves to discuss his "ideological principles." He once said that "modern wars are waged not over boundary lines or economies, but over philosophical principles." Victories, he declared, are gained not by armed forces alone and although economic and military power "can be a basic ideological knock-out, the only weapon against any idea is a better idea." Norstad, nevertheless, is silent about what kind of "philosophical principles" or ideas he holds.

The ideas which inspire the people of our times are well-known: ideas of peace, cessation of the "cold war," and revival of international confidence by ending the arms race, liquidating foreign military bases on foreign soil, and banning atomic and thermonuclear weapons. The realization of these ideas is now being achieved by the governments of the Soviet Union, China, and other countries of the democratic camp.

The "ideas" of Norstad and other American militarists, together with ruling circles in the United States, are unremitting international tension, a "policy of force," brandishing an atomic bludgeon, interference in the internal affairs of other countries, and subordinating them to American monopolies. American generals are trying to educate American soldiers and officers in the spirit of these "philosophical principles" of international robbery.

The American command is more afraid of ideas which reign over the minds of modern mankind, ideas in the true sense of the word, than it is of fire. It tries in every possible manner to prevent their penetration into the army, to remove them from the consciousness of American soldiers and officers, and to instill savage instincts in their place. Before us is a photograph published in Time together with an article about the American air force. An emblem is painted on a fighter plane -- a circle with a figure of a tiger and an inscription on the border -- "School of Fighters. Every pilot is a tiger." "A tiger," the article explains, "is the simultaneous state of mind and precious qualities which Nat Twining tries with all his might to develop in pilots. A good pilot is a tiger; a very good pilot -- a hungry tiger. At one of the flying schools located at an airbase in Nellis, Nevada, the walls of the lodgings are covered with posters bearing the figure of a tiger. The striped beast is arching its spine, preparing to spring on its prey..... At several bases cadets, running out of barracks for morning roll-call, growl like tigers....." Such is the "ideological education" of American pilots!

But the habit of American "aces", as Time irreverently calls them, is still not an indication of a high fighting capacity, which is inconceivable without deep ideological conviction, without unshakable trust in the righteousness of one's cause. And this is the very thing which American pilots or the American Armed Forces as a whole, do not and cannot have. American pilots committed unprecedented atrocities in Korea, but this did not save them from defeat. For this reason even the American press, in all its attempts to provide a strong advertisement for the American Armed Forces and above all the Air Force, was compelled time after time to admit that the "morale" of American troops is very low. Baldwin, military reviewer of the New York Times, acknowledged that "there is not enough enthusiasm" even among military cadres. During the war in Korea, he dolefully narrated, it was revealed that 200 officers of the American Air Force, rebelling, refused to take part in combat sorties. Military service in the United States, Baldwin admitted, "is ideal for only a very small number of young men." In this regard, Time bitterly lamented the shortage of cadres in the Air Force. It cited the following comment of General LeMay concerning the Strategic Air Command: "This entire machine can fall to pieces and fly off in every direction in two weeks." The reason? "People," the general answered bluntly.

The policy pursued by the ruling circles of the United States of preparing for a new atomic war is unpopular among the American people. Like other peoples, American workers want peace; they know that atomic war would bring them incredible disaster. Millions of simple people around the world, including America, are firmly resolved to snare instigators of a new war and prevent them from putting their bloody projects into effect.

More Americans are now sharing the opinions advanced by the American publisher, H. [Herschel] Mayer in his book The Last Illusion. "The United States," he wrote, "cannot win, no matter what type of war it wages against the socialist countries," for the basic calculations of American strategists are founded not on the real situation, but on illusions. Illusion is a dangerous thing for those American strategists who dream of a "lightning" atomic strike against the Soviet Union.

Now there is no corner of the world where an aggressor can hide. Soviet Armed Forces are capable of delivering destructive blows on any enemy no matter where he is or wherever he conceals himself.

The Soviet Union is steadfastly achieving agreement "on cessation of testing and the banning of atomic weapons, on the problem of disarmament as a whole, in whose positive solution every nation in the world is interested," stated a TASS announcement of 27 August 1957.

This announcement was respectfully assessed by the most sober, responsible circles of the United States.

"Russian military power has made a great leap forward since the explosion of the first Soviet hydrogen bomb in August 1953," the New York Herald Tribune was compelled to admit. "At the present time there is no defense against an intercontinental ballistic rocket carrying a hydrogen bomb."

The TASS announcement, said Senator Long, is "a very serious affair."

Yes, gentlemen American senators. This, truly, is a serious affair. And it will be better for American atom-mongers themselves, if their bosses and inspirers gave some serious thought to this serious affair, and if they stop sabotaging the ban on nuclear weapons and disarmament, which the people demand.

The Dirty Work of Allen Dulles

V. Makhov

Sirens howl uneasily over the capital of a peaceful country which, though small, is proud of its independence from US imperialism. Foreign mercenaries burrow into this country in order to foist on it reactionary rulers and the henchmen of US monopolies. A faction composed of military conspirators overthrows the legal government, hangs hundreds of democrats, and shoots representatives of any opposition, including even the bourgeois element. All this is done to transfer the riches of the country to US magnates. In the dark of night a US plane stealthily threads its way toward the border of one of the countries of peace and democracy, and

saboteurs, armed with poisons, demolition explosives, and addresses of contacts, parachute into a remote area. Behind all this dirty, subversive activity hides the hand of Allen Dulles. This is the business of his accomplices from the Central Intelligence Agency which he heads in Washington.

An enormous staff of spies of the most varied specialties and masters of diversion and sabotage are active within the system of CIA.

The activities of this headquarters of the American intelligence are shrouded in deep secrecy. For purposes of conspiracy, the agency is located in 34 small, isolated buildings in Washington and 22 small buildings in New York. As evidenced in American newspapers, the names of not only supervisors of separate services and Dulles' deputies, but even the rank and file employees of the Central Intelligence Agency, are kept secret.

How many agents, large and small, work in CIA is not known. In the opinion of the more informed US newspapers this agency has 15,000 people at its disposal, including employees at headquarters and agents in the foreign network -- an entire division of spies. Information concerning the budget of this sinister agency is not published. But several US newspapers have reported that secret appropriations for its operations reach one billion dollars a year. Hundreds of millions of dollars are officially and specifically earmarked for financing espionage, sabotage, and subversive activities in countries of the camp of peace, democracy, and socialism. As the US press has reported, for purposes of concealment, appropriations for "activities" of CIA are allocated by Congress within the budgets of various government departments and later transferred by them to the current account of the agency.

What does the notorious CIA do and on what does it spend these extremely sizeable sums? Let us hear the testimony of authoritative organs of the US press, which are informed on the activities of Washington's masters of espionage and sabotage.

In January 1953 the Washington Post, disturbed by comments unfavorable to US policy which were stirred by provocative activities of CIA abroad, published an article which sharply criticized its methods. The newspaper declared in plain terms that CIA was engaged in "black," that is, false provocative propaganda. "CIA serves as a refuge for dare-devil cutthroats... Through their activities these masters of their trade," the Washington Post, pointed out, "are able to start the ball rolling in the field of foreign policy -- to cause trouble and even involve a country in war." These are the affairs of Allen Dulles' agency.

The newspaper cited several examples of US intelligence (by far not the most indicative) in which it mentioned the financing (and undoubtedly "ideological and practical" leadership) of neo-Nazi organizations in West Germany. The Burmese and Siamese, declared the Washington Post, suspected that CIA incited the defeated Chiang Kai-shek remnants to make raids on China through Burmese territory.

* * *

Enumerating by dint of broad publicity all these facts which occurred at different times and which were far from comprehensive of the entire subversive activities of the agency headed by Allen Dulles, the newspaper grimly concluded that the Central Intelligence Agency "can bring trouble" to the United States.

After a short time Representative Mansfield (Democrat, from Montana) spoke to the House of Representatives on the very same subject -- the provocative, incendiary activities of US intelligence.

The US legislature declared that from the very beginning CIA engaged itself in very secret activities -- espionage -- and rendered assistance to subversive elements in countries of the people's democracy.

This pronouncement, whose purpose was undoubtedly to prevail upon US agents for greater secrecy, contained a warning that the activities of CIA and its interference in the affairs of other countries was provoking "many private complaints" in countries of the capitalist world which are also the object of the fixed attention and secret activities of Allen Dulles' agents.

Neither the Congressman's hypocritical speech nor the feigned lamentations of "liberal" newspapers concealed even the slightest part of those dirty affairs on which Washington leaders waste hundreds of millions of dollars.

* * *

Each week in Washington, at the White House, the military cabinet of the United States, the so-called National Security Council, convenes at a long, narrow table resembling a diamond, truncated with sharp corners. The President of the United States presides at these meetings. The Vice-President, the Secretary of Defense, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury, and the director of the "Defense" Mobilization Administration take part in the discussions.

A group of "consultants" lies under the National Security Council. General Twining, representative of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Allen Dulles, chief of the Central Intelligence Agency, and others make up this group. There is a small staff of experts and technical workers under the control of the Council.

Intensifying preparations of the US military machine for a new world war, of which banks and military-industrial concerns are dreaming, the US Congress in 1947 passed the so-called law on national security. Then and there the narrow-minded military cabinet, the National Security Council, was created.

What does this cabinet do? What state matters does it settle? In October 1950 the Council examined the general problem of the five-year program of the "Cold War" against the Soviet Union and countries of the people's democracy. As newspapers then reported, it was decided that the US would spend 200-250 billion dollars over a five-year period on armaments, assist in the creation of a "European army" of 75 divisions, and supply arms to countries located on the borders of the "Soviet zone."

Here, based on the information from the US press, is a list of problems on which the Council labored during 1953: an embargo on maritime shipments to the Chinese People's Republic; a complete ban on trade with "Communist countries"; plans to interfere in the war in Indonesia; and the military budget. According to reports by the American press, the decision concerning the anti-national revolution in Guatemala was made at a meeting of the National Security Council on 17 June 1954. The Council ratified a program for sharply expanding the US armed forces.

Many aggressive plans have been approved at meetings of the National Security Council. In May 1954 the New York Post told of a meeting of the Council at which the plan for US operations in Indochina was discussed. At this very meeting the decision was made to create an aggressive military coalition of colonial powers (the so-called "South-east Asia Pact -- SEATO"). In the beginning of June of that year plans for expanding and continuing the war in Indochina were examined here.

Thus, the Council determines the foreign and military policies of the US and coordinates the activities of US diplomacy and the military machine.

How does one explain the narrow-mindedness of its members? Why are the leaders of the US government, with the exception of the secretaries of State, Defense, and the Treasury, not always permitted to take part in its discussions? Because matters dealt with at the meetings of the Council are top secret. The National Security Council long ago became a hotbed of plans for subversive, sabotage activities. For this reason the Central Intelligence Agency and its leader, Allen Dulles, play so important a role in the affairs of the Council.

The journal United States News and World Report acknowledged that the reactionary revolution in Guatemala was brought about through the efforts of CIA. Other organs of the US press announced that the intervention in Guatemala -- inspired, organized, and supported by the US -- was for a

long time headed by US intelligence agencies. The New York Times reported then that, "Allen Dulles — head of the Central Intelligence Agency.... has kept watch over the situation in Guatemala for a long time." The newspaper told of the "active operations" of his associates in this country.

Peurifoy, former US Ambassador to Guatemala at the time of the revolution, is known for his close association with CIA. As the journal Newsweek wrote, "He was not surprised by the events resulting in the collapse of the Arbens government." When it appeared that the situation of the Guatemalan government was completely stable, Peurifoy asked if disorders would soon break out. "I will not indulge in predictions," he said, "but I will tell you one thing. We are now preparing invitations to our Fourth of July reception and we will not include one member of the present government on that list." In plain terms the London Times declared that Peurifoy "operating behind the scenes, contributed much... to the overthrow of the Arbens government."

Adapting to a new situation, the National Security Council in the fall of 1956 approved, in the words of the US press, the idea of expanding contacts with the Soviet Union in the field of culture and art, with the obvious, openly stated purpose of using these contacts in the interests of US intelligence agencies.

Through the active participation and incitement of US intelligence agencies the anti-national mutiny of the Hungarian counterrevolution was organized. To a great degree it resulted from rabid, malicious urgings on the part of such US propaganda organs as the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe, which are financed, according to the US press, by the US espionage and sabotage agency. Such authoritative press organs as the Chicago Daily News and others were compelled to acknowledge the subversive role of these radio services and their connection with US intelligence.

With the first shots of the fascist putschists resounding in Budapest, CIA in Washington began working at full speed. General Donovan, former head of US intelligence during World War II, was quickly sent to Vienna. His task consisted of supplying arms to the fascist putschists and organizing assistance and support for them. Acting under the guise of leader of the so-called International Rescue Committee, which coordinated and directed the activities of the emigrant, fascist remnants, Donovan roamed along the Hungarian borders looking for less protected points through which it would be possible to supply the poorly armed counterrevolutionary bands which were stirring up revolt against the national power. They attempted to impose on the Hungarian people the power of Hungarian and foreign capitalists and landowners, the power of Horthy, Esterhazy, and the obscurantist Mindszenty.

The counterrevolution collapsed. It was blocked by the Hungarian people with the brotherly support of the Soviet Union. Donovan returned to Washington with nothing for his pains. But in an interview with press correspondents he again urged that arms be supplied the fascists. As evidenced in the Washington Daily News, in answering the questions of correspondents, Donovan declared that the best means of assisting the Hungarian revolutionaries was "to supply arms to those who are still fighting." In answer to a similar question he urged the US to do everything in order that "the battles in Hungary would continue."

In all these operations of the Central Intelligence Agency a dominant role was played by Allen Dulles -- banker, diplomat, and leader of the agency which united and coordinates all types of American military, political, diplomatic, and economic espionage. The activities of this sinister agency of espionage, sabotage, and terrorism are directed not only against countries of the camp of peace and democracy, but against the satellites and "allies" of the US.

As the United States press has reported, the espionage-sabotage "service" of the Hitlerite intelligence officer, General Reinhard Gehlen lives on in West Germany on American dollars under the guardianship of Dulles' CIA.

By a military agreement concluded between the US and Thailand in October 1950, a large center of US espionage was created there. Sheldon, the US Military Attache, supervised it. Special courses for training US agents are given in Chiang Mai in the northwestern part of Thailand. All espionage work in Thailand was headed by the hardened intelligence officer, General U. [sic] Donovan, who served there until recently as ambassador.

Agents of the US espionage service operate everywhere including the territories of US allies -- Britain, France, Italy, and other countries -- to the detriment of their national interests.

It is no accident that Allen Dulles, a specialist in international ties of American monopolies, heads this ramified system of espionage, provocation, and sabotage. Wall Street has always given great attention to international espionage. As regards Allen Dulles, being in the service of American banks, he long ago became famous as a scout of monopolistic US capital.

* * *

"Allen Dulles," the New York Times Magazine once announced, "began his activities in the field of espionage almost immediately after his graduation from Princeton University. This was in 1916 when, as a 23-year-old employee of the US Embassy in Vienna, he was commissioned to

to make contact with dissident forces (i.e., dissenters) in Austria." The Washington Post reported that Allen Dulles brought with him into CIA "imagination and zeal plus a bent for adventure."

Biographies of Allen Dulles assert that from his birth he was prepared for diplomatic pursuits. Dulles' grandfather, John Watson Foster, served as Secretary of State under President Harrison and earlier was US emissary to Mexico and Tsarist Russia. Allen Dulles' uncle, Robert Lansing, a great advocate and attorney of Wall Street monopolies, served as Secretary of State under President Woodrow Wilson.

In 1916 Allen Dulles was admitted into the US diplomatic service. Secretary of Embassy in Vienna, Bern, and Berlin, and finally chief of the Near East Section of the State Department -- such was the impetuous ascent of Dulles up the ladder of the US diplomatic service.

In 1926, appointed adviser of the US Embassy in Peking, Dulles resigned and entered the law firm of Sullivan and Cromwell, one of whose owners was his older brother, John Foster Dulles.

The firm of Sullivan and Cromwell established a reputation as legal steward of many US monopolies and banks. Labor, the US trade union newspaper, reported that a fee of millions of dollars was nothing remarkable for this firm. Lawyers of Sullivan and Cromwell formed cartel agreements, loan operations, mergers, and reorganizations of large monopolies. Before the Second World War, the firm of Sullivan and Cromwell actively assisted the British affiliate of the German banking house of Schroeder in intensifying its financial operations in the United States and expanding its New York affiliate, the John Henry Schroeder and Company Bank. John Foster and Allen Dulles, partners and co-owners of this firm, became board members of the New York Schroeder Bank.

Sitting solemnly in an office of the firm's building on Wall Street, Allen Dulles did not lose touch with the diplomatic machinery of the US. In 1927 he was legal adviser to the US delegation at the three-power maritime conference. His duties included preventing anyone from limiting the scale and sphere of operations of the US Navy to which the oil empire of Rockefeller supplied many millions of barrels of oil. Dulles also served as adviser to US delegations at disarmament conferences in 1932 and 1933. If one is to judge by the results of these conferences, which promoted not one iota of armaments reduction, Dulles and his colleagues on the delegations fulfilled the order of American monopolistic capital which attempted thereafter to make a fortune in arms production.

The explosion of imperialistic contradictions, which kindled the flame of the World War II, aroused great uneasiness on Wall Street. Monopolies wanted to conceal from the public their secret ties with the criminal German concerns which fostered and unleashed the war, and at the

same time maintain these ties in order to divide the profits with German monopolies after the war. Not only US banks were concerned with this problem, but German monopolies as well. At this time, in October 1942, Allen Dulles was sent by US monopolies to serve in the US intelligence organization, OSS — Office of Strategic Services. He was sent to one of the most important areas, to head the OSS section in Basel.

This selection was no accident. Located in Basel was the so-called International Savings Bank, created in 1926 in connection with the "Young Plan" for effecting operations between German military industrialists and the US and British banks which financed them. Three German bankers sat on the board of this bank during the war: Baron Kurt Von Schroeder, president of Hitler's Reichsbank; Walter Funk, minister of the German economy; and Hermann Schmidt, president of I. G. Farbenindustrie. The US bank was represented by three members of its board. The Wall Street deputy in this bank was its president and chief director, Thomas McKittrick, representing the Morgan First National Bank of New York.

G. D. White, then special consultant to the secretary of the US treasury, gave an evaluation of the activities of this bank. "Germans control it," he declared on 23 November 1943. "The American president of the bank conducts business with Germans, while at the same time our soldiers struggle with Germans on the fields of battle." In the summer of 1944 McKittrick himself told a United Press correspondent the following: "We will not permit the machine to stop. You know that when the armistice comes, former enemy powers may be in great need of such a powerful tool as the International Savings Bank."

To this one could add that "enemy powers" also needed the bank during the war. It was mainly through this bank that German monopolists established contact with Allen Dulles during the period when the inevitable destruction of Germany on the Soviet-German front became evident.

In February 1943 (after the defeat of the Germans at Stalingrad) none other than Allen Dulles, going under the less attractive nickname "Bull," conducted on behalf of the US government negotiations with Prince M. Hohenlohe, who was close to the ruling circles of Hitler's Germany and acted as Hitler's representative under the nickname "Pauls."

Dulles, wielding great power, assured him that "the German state must continue to exist as a factor of order and rehabilitation." Repeating Hitler's nonsense, Dulles declared that "the expansion of Poland to the east and the preservation of Rumania and a strong Hungary would serve to support the creation of a cardon sanitaire against Bolshevism and Panslavism." Thus Dulles acknowledged the claim of German industrialists to supremacy in Europe. Notes of a conversation discovered among documents of the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs state that "Bull is more or less agreeable to the state and industrial organization of Europe

on the basis of large areas, suggesting that a federated Greater Germany (like the US) with a Danube confederation joined to it will be the best guarantee of order and rehabilitation of Central and Eastern Europe." Here, then, is recognition of Hitler's fundamental plans for "organizing" Europe. Thus, during the war Mr. Allen Dulles labored over the realization of such adventuristic plans in Basel.

The purpose of these plans was to reach agreement with the Hitlerites and conclude a separate peace with them in order to preserve the German military machine, save it from destruction by Soviet troops, and use it in the future against the Soviet Union.

It was hoped to realize this sabotage by organizing an attempt on Hitler's life and staging a "coup" in Berlin. For this purpose Dulles kept in touch with prominent figures close to Hitler. According to the US press, Allen Dulles "was informed of all plans for the attempt on Hitler's life" through Giesevisius, German vice-counsel in Bern.

After the war Dulles headed the OSS section in West Germany. His duties were to strengthen and expand the position of US capital in the German economy. Speaking at a meeting of US bankers in November 1946, Dulles declared: "We must play a leading role in the rebirth of the German economy in order to stabilize the economic position of the US by establishing control over the German economy and assuring US firms of suitable profits."

Fulfilling this task of US monopolistic capital, Allen Dulles had not forgotten his own personal, mercenary interests. With the active assistance and cooperation of the Nazi bankers Schacht and Schroeder, he bought up shares of enterprises excluded by control groups of the American unit of the supreme commission of the I. G. Farben and Vereinigte Stahlwerke concerns.

US super-intelligence officers and super-spies of Allen Dulles' agency conducted their subversive sabotage work with great thoroughness. More funds were allocated to Dulles' CIA than to the State Department; the most qualified cadres of the various US espionage services were placed at his disposal.

"The Central Intelligence Agency", the journal Colliers once reported to its readers, "is an agency consisting mainly of intelligence officers of the Army, Navy, and Air Force intelligence services. Their diplomats and attaches send from countries in which they are accredited all information which they gather in these countries... CIA is commissioned to hire, train, and place in foreign countries secret agents who must perform 5-10 percent of the dirty work connected with intelligence."

"CIA," Colliers related, "plants its people in other countries as consulate workers and other less important official representatives." The journal gave examples of CIA leaders publicly announcing "who their agents were in an embassy and what posts they occupied."

It is an interesting circumstance that when Allen Dulles was appointed chief of the OSS section in Switzerland during the war, according to the New York Times Magazine, "he was, for cover purposes, held to be a special assistant to the US ambassador in Bern."

The military reviewer of the New York Times once wrote that there are many CIA spies among US workers abroad. "Representatives of CIA abroad," wrote Baldwin, "in every case are in fact connected to US embassies and usually avail themselves of State Department communications."

The "means of communication of the State Department" are at the disposal of the organizers of espionage, sabotage, provocations, and revolts. For purposes of concealment they are listed as diplomats at US embassies and are authorized to "hire, train, and place secret agents in foreign governments."

Allen Dulles' agency makes wide use of this ramified system of espionage and sabotage to shower the territory of the Soviet Union and other countries of socialism with its agents, who are supplied with arms, counterfeit documents, poison, ciphers, and secret radiotransmitters for reporting information from spies. Captured and exposed agents of US imperialism, as well as those agents who gave themselves up to the motherland and were thereby pardoned, recently told the whole world about their foul activities. Their stories have taught the Soviet people to maintain sharp-sighted, watchful vigilance against the intrigues of enemies of peace and happiness of peoples.

But the ruling saboteur in Washington is not only occupied with plotting secret espionage activities. The organization of a police service and the struggle against national movements throughout the entire capitalist world are also subjects of his concern.

In October 1955 Dulles addressed the 65th annual congress of the International Association of Police Chiefs (it so happens there is such an organization) with an appeal to study the police business in order to be ever ready to crush the onslaught of national forces everywhere.

The conference of heads of governments of four powers in Geneva in 1955 had hardly concluded when Allen Dulles demanded, "Don't yield to the spirit of Geneva."

In the interval between his narrow, departmental activities the younger Dulles supervised the state of affairs in the field of atomic and nuclear arms. In June 1956 he accompanied Admiral-Banker Lewis Strauss, head of the US Atomic Energy Commission, to the Pacific Ocean area where US atomic and hydrogen bombs are tested.

Tension in international relations is relaxing. Socialist and workers parties are making new steps toward unified action in the struggle against reaction, poverty, the armaments race, high taxes, and the danger of war. But Allen Dulles is dashing around to the Congressional commission for investigating "un-American activities." In a speech published on 1 September 1956 he demanded, "Now it is impossible to ignore the danger of parliamentary compromises with Communists."

The hated system of colonialism is crumbling. The peoples of Asian countries led by an impassioned striving for peace, a better life, for science, light, state independence, and sovereignty, are uniting in a zone of peace. Allen Dulles is not sitting placidly in Washington. In September 1956 he set out on a round-the-world tour. His itinerary included India, Indonesia, Australia, the Philippines, South Korea, and Japan. Oddly enough the capitalist press writes very little on the concrete purposes of this trip. The Indian newspaper Blitz gave a slight glimpse into the deep secret behind this voyage. Allen Dulles and his associates, the newspaper noted, travelled through countries of Southeast Asia and the Far East in order to reorganize the activities of the Central Intelligence Agency on the basis of "materials" obtained locally.

But this tour of the master of provocation and sabotage has not found sympathy and approval. His airplane had no more than landed at Djakarta when representatives of official Indonesian circles promptly announced that A. Dulles was not a guest of the Indonesian government. It is very necessary to soothe public opinion which is aroused and incensed by the appearance of an old enemy of the Asian people. It is possible, perhaps, to appease public opinion temporarily, but it is impossible to deceive the watchfulness of the people who vigilantly protect their own achievements.

The perspectives of Mr. Allen Dulles and his agents are joyless: espionage, sabotage, and other means of waging of Wall Street's secret war cannot be effective when nations resist them. A saboteur can destroy a dam and poison water in a well, but he will never succeed in destroying the inviolable will of people for a new, bright life and returning them to slavery under the masters of the Dulleses and their bosses on Wall Street. No matter how Allen Dulles and his division of agents try, their activities are inevitably doomed to failure.

The Atom-Monger Senator and His Sermons

B. Leont'yev

- Exclude the Soviet Union from the United Nations.
- Sever diplomatic relations not only of the United States but all capitalistic governments with the USSR and other socialist countries.
- Refuse trade with the Soviet Union and countries of the people's democracy. Use economic sanctions against the USSR and her allies.
- In the guise of creating "international volunteer forces," launch an armed invasion into Hungary.

All these suggestions were loudly and openly proposed by Senator Knowland of California in November 1956 when a wild, provocative campaign against the Soviet Union was waged in the United States and other countries of the Atlantic military bloc, in connection with the failure of a counterrevolutionary revolt in Hungary. Indeed, this senator had proposed such suggestions many times earlier, advancing implacable, aggressive, misanthropic appeals. Any circumstances and events regardless of their character or trend were used for this purpose. Senator Knowland grieved at tidings of the strengthening of world peace and rejoiced at each aggravation of international relations. He is, in the full sense of the word, the most thick-headed, inflexible preacher of preventive, that is, a completely uncalled for but in his opinion "necessary," war against the camp of socialism and democracy.

* * *

However, it would be a mistake to view the senator from California as some kind of "crank," "eccentric," fanatic, or even a ludicrous amateur in politics of the United States of America. No, this prominent figure of the Republican Party, the leader of its faction in the United States Senate is one of the most influential members of the ruling groups in this country. He expresses his opinions more frankly, more rudely, and more cynically than officials of the American government.

Knowland is a phenomenon deserving the public's attention. His impetuous career is characteristic of modern America. Such people move forward in the United States. The atmosphere itself -- increasing reaction in the North American state, the situation of war hysteria, and the arms race which enriches those who actually rule America -- gives rise to the Knowlands.

William Fife Knowland is not simply an enemy of peace. He is a preacher of war.

Knowland is an adherent of the theory that peaceful coexistence of capitalism and socialism on the earth is "impossible." He furiously defends the "doctrine" of political war against the People's Republic of China. He has threatened to resign if China is returned to its legitimate seat in the UN.

No coexistence whatever with Communism is Knowland's motto. Only capitalism, he asserts, must exist on the earth. As long as somewhere in some country socialism is building, as long as one nation lives in a new way which does not recognize capitalistic systems or the "leadership" of the United States of America, capitalism cannot be confident of its future. All historical changes which have taken place in the world since the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia, in the opinion of this Senator, must be completely liquidated. He will not agree to anything less, you see.

This "symbol of faith," so close to the hearts of monopolists, which advanced Knowland to the position he now holds, made him leader not only of the Republican faction in the Senate, but made him the leader of the extreme right wind of the American bourgeoisie.

Knowland's career was, indeed, a dizzy one. In all the posts which Knowland subsequently held he invariably was the youngest person who had reached such a position. In the American biographic reference book, Current Biography, the word "youngest" is repeated many times in connection with his name. "Youngest" member of the Legislative Assembly of California in 1933. "Youngest" chairman of the National Committee of the Republican Party in 1941. At the age of 49 Knowland was considered the most influential figure of one of the ruling bourgeois parties in the United States. In 1953-1954 he was leader of the Senate Majority and since 1955 — leader of the Senate Minority (the Republican Party is now the minority).

What is the ideology of the Knowlands and all who stand behind them? What is the foreign policy advocated by the senate, influential group within the ruling clique of the United States of America?

The origin and purely commercial interests of the Knowland family are of great significance in understanding the ideology of the "young" senator and his course in international policy.

The son of a great businessman and newspaper owner, William Knowland became one of the prominent political figures in California very early. In 1945, at the age of 37, he became a member of the United States Senate. This advancement took place without the participation of California voters as the governor of the state appointed him to the post of the late Senator H. Johnson.

It was hardly by accident that this "happy opportunity" befell Knowland. The capable young go-getter energetically supported the Republican governor of the state of California, E. Warren. This support had some meaning: William Knowland and his father, Joseph, controlled the Tribune, an influential newspaper in those areas published in Oakland. Warren did not forget his sponsors. In appointing Knowland to the Senate, Warren had merely repaid his political debt.

Thus the advantageous position of his father in state political circles benefited Knowland's life and career. Thus this prospering American exploited the well-known fact that in the United States the press belongs to big capitalists, bosses of financial capital, and is used by them for their own mercenary interests.

The second essential circumstance connected with the rise and personal interests of the senator lies in the fact that numerous firms in California, of which he is even now considered the director, have always been interested in the Far East market, particularly in China.

1945, when Knowland became a senator, was not only the year of victory over the German and Japanese aggressors, but also the year of the intensive economic penetration of the United States into China, which was then ruled by the Chiang Kai-shek clique. This vast country represented, to American monopolists, a new "Eldorado," an inexhaustible source of profit, an almost gratuitous labor force, and a favorable sphere of capital investment. One-sided agreements concluded by Chiang Kai-shek with the United States government, it appears, transformed China into a semi-colonial American territory many decades before. At this point all American competitors were forced out — Japanese, German, Italian, and, to a large degree, British and French monopolies.

But the first years of Knowland's "big" political activity coincided with the great anti-imperialistic war of liberation of the Chinese people and with the decisive defeat of the corrupt Kuomintang clique, which was exiled at last to the island of Taiwan. The senator from California, being vitally interested in the profits of American companies which have long enriched themselves in China and throughout the Far East, became the acknowledged leader of those forces which invariably supported and still support the Chiang Kai-shek clique, which in turn exerts great influence on the United States Congress.

The nickname "Senator from Formosa" has stuck firmly to Knowland. Together with California plant owners and bankers, he is interested in seeing that China never becomes a free, sovereign country and that it remains under the control of American monopolies as in the past.

Knowland is the most malicious, uncompromising enemy of the Chinese people. He is famous for his anti-Chinese speeches both in America and abroad. But it would be incorrect to consider that Knowland's hatred of the People's Republic of China is the sole and chief motivation behind his political activities. This hatred, like his mercenary personal interests, is merely the seasoning in a much keener dinner, merely a graphic confirmation of the class base on which all aggressive American policy, the policy from "a position of strength," is founded.

Yes, it was no accident that this prominent capitalist, smart operator and careerist and California senator became the leader of the imperialistic clique in the United States and one of the leaders of the "war party." The "loss" of China and significant portions of Indo-China, the "loss" of countries of the people's democracy, as American governmental figures and pamphleteers prefer to express it, was painfully received by monopolies of the United States which determine the policy of this government. The Knowlands arrived at their own special conclusions from these great events in world history. These conclusions formed the foundation of all the malicious appeals of American militarists for strengthening the arms race and halting the process of lessening world tensions.

Here are these "conclusions."

Knowland rejected the idea of coexistence of different social systems on earth and of peaceful competition among them. He spoke out many times on this subject, arousing alarm time and again in the bourgeois, and especially the British, press. He was repeatedly called upon to refute the deep-rooted opinion that in fighting for a "preventive" war, he proposed, in essence, a war for achievement of American world supremacy. But his "refutations" only confirmed this opinion.

In its December 1954 issue, the New York Times Magazine published an interview entitled "Knowland on United States Foreign Policy." This, if you please, was the most complete, most frank statement of views on this ideology of a third world war, barely concealed by hypocritical phrases.

"A meeting with the Soviet Union on peaceful coexistence," the senator declared in his interview, "would be a fatal mistake." Knowland wants neither a meeting nor coexistence itself. And Knowland did not change his position even after the Geneva Conference. On the contrary, he began to defend and propagandize it more widely and more violently. Why? Because by the term "coexistence" Communists imply peace and the peaceful collaboration of governments of different systems. This is unacceptable for Knowland because "coexistence will mean legal and moral recognition of the iron curtain which now exists."

These words of the "Senator from Fromosa" on the "iron curtain" need explanation, for not everyone grasps his allegory. In this case, by "iron curtain" the senator meant the non-artificial curtain created by imperialistic countries around the states of the camp of socialism and democracy.

Knowland opposes "legal and moral" recognition of the camp of socialism and democracy, the recognition of the right to life under the socialist system. In this sense he formulates his program quite clearly: if the United States agrees to peaceful coexistence between the two systems, then, by this fact alone, it renounces the intention of destroying the other, non-capitalist system.

This champion of preventive war wants to "save" the peoples of the democratic states from socialism, national democracy, and national independence. Loathsome hypocrisy has always been one of the distinguishing characteristics of imperialists: they have not committed one crime against freedom and independence of nations, without performing masses, without praying to God, without proclaiming throughout the entire world their devotion to "freedom," "democracy," and "equality."

Knowland does not agree with the genuine independence of countries of socialism.

He wants to "free" them, that is, enslave them. True, to a direct question from a journalist, the senator answered cautiously, "This does mean exclusively liberation by means of armed forces." Not exclusively, but, it seems, preferably. However, there follows an explanation of other "methods" which differ little from war, although they are termed "establishment of contact" with American secret agents within these countries.

For experienced readers of the New York Times Magazine the senator's Aesopian language is understandable. He blandly and frankly states his opinions. Expanding on the benefits of severing diplomatic relations with the USSR and the fact that the United States "does not feel animosity" toward the Russian people, Knowland declared that it cannot consider the Soviet Union "as having the right to occupy its place among law-abiding countries of the world."

This means the Soviet Union was established "illegally" and that the senator does not consent to granting it the "legal" and "moral" right to existence.

This is the first and fundamental point of Knowland's "program" to which all the rest are subordinate.

The Californian senator and his group exert great influence on American policy. They express the will and opinion of the all-powerful American monopolies -- the actual bosses of the country with whom the President and the secretaries reckon. If Knowland demands not a mollification but a further aggravation of international tension, it means this is the demand of American monopolistic capital.

Faithful to his basic "program," the senator, in connection with the then contemplated four-power negotiations in Geneva, demanded, in May 1955, interference in the affairs of countries of the people's democracy and detachment of several union republics from the USSR.

World war -- as soon as is possible -- is the second point in Knowland's "program."

His long article in Colliers was entitled "We Must Be Prepared to Wage War Now." It concerned large-scale, world, total war. "When I say wage war, I do not mean a new small war," the senator emphasized. He mourned military failures in "small" wars, instigated or supported by the United States. "Our inability to gain a victory in the Korean war," the senator wrote in his article, "can prove to be one of the greatest mistakes in history."

In one of his speeches to the American Senate, Knowland explained -- in hazy, unproven expressions but ones comprehensible to those who know what was being discussed -- why he wanted to launch a world war as soon as possible. In his words, sometime "between 1957 and 1960" an "atomic stalemate," as he calls it, will ensue, that is, a balance of the forces of the Soviet Union and the United States. By then it will be too late to start a war, by then peace will be established for a long time. "Times passes and I remind the Senate," the bellicose senator said, "that now in the century of airplanes and atomic weapons time is certainly not on the side of the free world."

What could be more clear and instructive than such an admission? It was made by a man who eulogizes the "free," that is, the capitalistic world. This man understands that the system which he abhors and abuses in every possible way, the socialist system, possesses greater opportunities of strengthening its material and moral forces. Time works in its behalf because it is better, it possesses more vital capacity, and the future belongs to it. For this reason, the Knowlands declare, it is necessary to attempt to destroy it as soon as possible.

In the same Senate speech, Knowland explained that it is necessary to wage war against the "chief enemies," whom he considers to be the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China equally.

The third basic thesis of the zealous "Senator from Formosa" is implacable, ruthless war against the People's Republic of China. Year after year, month after month Knowland makes speeches replete with hatred for the Chinese people, for the greatest nation in Asia which "dares" to become sovereign and independent of American monopolies and Californian capitalists whose interests and profits Knowland defends in the American Senate. In 1951 Knowland spoke 103 times in defense of Chiang Kai-shek and against the People's Republic of China. In recent years he has found much greater pretexts for anti-Chinese "hysteria": he was "menaced" by the armistice in Korea and fought in every possible way against the possibility of its conclusion. However, it became a fact. In 1954 he fought against peace in Indo-China. In spite of the strength of the Knowlands, Indo-China was not successfully converted into a new base for aggression against the People's Republic of China.

"He wages such battles with the ardour of an evangelist," wrote the New York Times, picturing the behaviour of this misanthrope," and in the course of his activities he creates most dramatic scenes which one can often see in the Senate. His appearance is sombre and decisive, and his face is crimson red from tension. He gesticulates energetically with a clenched fist to emphasis his ideas, while his angry voice thunders like an organ."

Knowland is hostile to every event in the international arena which promises to lessen tension. He was delighted in the late months of 1956 when a new aggravation of the international situation ensued.

When the counterrevolutionary mutiny broke out in Hungary, Knowland was one of the first to declare himself an ardent supporter and patron of the fascist reaction, which attempted with weapons in hand to overthrow the power of the people. The ludicrous, provocative campaign around the notorious "Hungarian question," which was adopted in the General Assembly of the UN by order of American diplomacy, did not even satisfy him.

Knowland makes speeches, writes articles, and gives interviews. He asks, demands, and threatens: Swift aid to the Hungarian putchists! Expel Hungary from the UN! Yes, and not just Hungary -- Knowland demanded the expulsion from this international organization of one of its founders -- the Soviet Union, which went to the aid of the Hungarian people and rendered it brotherly support in combating the fascist counterrevolution. Knowland anathemizes against the countries of Asia and Africa who refused to favor the row inspired by the United States in the United Nations.

The leader of the Republicans in the Senate insisted on the creation of an "international police force" of interventionists who, according to his plan, would to the aid of the forces of the reaction. He would

convert the UN into an international police station where one could bring all those who didn't want to become vassals of the United States. But fortunately for the UN and the dissatisfaction of the Knowlands, this did not depend on them.

This then is the advocate of war with the mandate of a senator of the United States in his pocket. He hates peace because war is advantageous to him. And for this all who hate war despise him.

"The Police -- Above All"

O. Prudkov

On the cover of Time was portrayed a man with shaggy, beetling eyebrows. Behind the portrait the artist had fashioned an original composition symbolizing the profession of this man. Dactyloscopic tracing -- resembling fingerprints -- personified the system of shadowing and espionage. A hand was thrust out of the tracing with a finger pointing at an American escaping in fright.

Before us is J. Edgar Hoover, head of the so-called Federal Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice of the United States.

Millions of simple Americans are enmeshed in the networks of the FBI. In its safes are kept tens of millions of fingerprints, thick dossiers (compilations of documents), reports, poods of accounts, materials, etc., etc. Congress appropriates vast sums for this. Thus, the FBI is one of the chief weapons of the ruling circles of the United States in implementing reactionary laws. Its task is to organize reprisals against all differently minded people and against progressive forces in the country. The FBI is an organization which must suppress efforts of the rank-and-file American for peace and prepare the country for war. The head of the FBI, Edgar Hoover, supervises all this.

The Napoleonic minister Fouché was famous for his cunning and perfidy. Himmler, the chief of the Gestapo, was an executioner and sadist. If historians are ever interested in the personality of Edgar Hoover, they undoubtedly will note that the basic feature of his character is bigotry and hypocrisy.

In Edgar Hoover's hypocrisy lies his logic. The American people do not support the aggressive policy which the monopolists of the United States pursue. This policy is shrouded in peace-loving positive statements. The Federal Bureau of Investigation hoists a sign "Loyalty, Courage, Incorruptibility," over its espionage activities. This is the official motto of the FBI.

Edgar Hoover learned his hypocrisy as a child. He industriously attended Sunday school and sang psalms in the church choir. His mother, Current Biography reports, was a religious woman, "a strong adherent to the principles of Calvinism." The future chief sleuth listened to her extensive sermons on good and evil and dreamed of a career as clergyman. These plans were approved by a certain Reverend MacLeod who poured out his eloquence upon Edgar. An atmosphere of sanctimonious piety reigned in his home. "We never sat down at the table," recalled Hoover, "with out giving thanks to heaven..."

In his school years, Current Biography reports, Hoover "refined" his comrades' high morals. This, however, did not prevent him from carefully preparing his career by directing it on a path quite apart from theology: Hoover's mother wanted her son to become a minister.

Finishing university and receiving his bachelor degree and later a law degree, Hoover began to clamber stubbornly upward on the ladder of ranks within the Department of Justice.

He distinguished himself in the shameful Palmer raids in 1919 and 1920. War and bitter economic crises stirred up the broad masses of American workers. The Great October Socialist Revolution brought the ideas of genuine sovereignty to the very shores of America. The rulers of men's minds in the United States -- the Wall Street magnates -- resorted to terror. Mass arrests, slaughter, deporting of "radicals" began under the supervision of the Attorney General Palmer. More than 6,000 people were then illegally subject to police repression.

Hoover stood behind the scenes of all Palmer's operations. Several years ago Max Lowenthal, in his book, The Federal Bureau of Investigation, bared irrefutable facts of Hoover's active participation in the "Palmer raids." Cummings, former Attorney General in the first years of President Roosevelt's stay in office, testified that "under the direct administrative leadership of Hoover" in 1919 a "general bureau of investigation" was established, and that the suppression of "radicals" was Hoover's chief responsibility from the very beginning of his career. Hoover and his bureau, which was called the "anti-radical" bureau, began to fill extensive files with notes of any rumours and gossip concerning so-called "subversive" elements. Mass illegal arrests and deportations in the period 1919-1920 were the first big job for Hoover. He personally supervised all these operations and thereby made a career for himself. In 1919 Hoover was assistant to the notorious Palmer, in 1921 -- assistant director of the FBI, and since 1924 -- its director. Hoover was then only 29 years old. It was not without reason that he received the nickname "Smartie" in school!

* * *

Hoover made himself famous in another no less shameful affair. During the first world war American aircraft companies were manufacturing wholly unsatisfactory airplanes aptly called "flying coffins." Aircraft industry magnates stuffed their pockets with dollars as pilots were killed. When these unsightly facts became known to the public, a storm of indignation broke out in the country. But serene calmness reigned in the Department of Defense and the FBI. Themis kept silent. Attorney General Dougherty and his closest assistants, among whom was Edgar Hoover, made great efforts to hush up the scandal of the "flying coffins." Just as in the "Palmer raids," Hoover remained in the background behind the scenes. But his zeal and loyalty to the interests of monopolies were undoubtedly noted.

Hoover has held his post continuously for more than 30 years. The scent and habit of a police dog, the readiness to serve greedy magnates on Wall Street, and hypocrisy and bigotry helped him to retain his post through four presidents and ten attorney generals: Republicans and Democrats alike need Hoover and his okhranka [Tsarist-Russian secret political police]. Monopolies, the real bosses of America, desperately needed his services. Congressional appropriations for espionage-information service grow from year to year. In 1917 the FBI was forced to be satisfied with \$618,000. Now appropriations for the FBI run into the millions of dollars.

Edgar Hoover's hypocrisy, his indelicate ways, and his clever self-advertisement reached unprecedented heights. Pages of the American and even Western European press are filled with eulogies of Hoover and the FBI.

See what successes Hoover has achieved, the American press would have you believe. He cleaned the FBI of criminals (?!), he created a "police of a new type," organized a criminal laboratory, and founded the "Academy of the FBI" in which "picked police officers from each state and many foreign governments" study modern methods of coping with "subversive elements." In a word, Edgar Hoover works day and night expanding and extending the system of police investigation and observation over all Americans.

In the opinion of his newspaper supporters, Hoover merits special thanks for creating an extensive collection of fingerprints. In the FBI, he boasted, there are even the fingerprints of Eleanor Roosevelt and former Mayor of New York City, La Guardia. The point here is, of course, not in these dactyloscopic souvenirs but in the fact that Edgar Hoover's department forms the foundation of an espionage net which engulfs the country.

The American press enthusiastically depicts the FBI building in Washington. Thousands of tourists visit this imposing building "full of air." Neat, carefully uninformed guides conduct tourists through the

spoils of the FBI. Here is the deathmask taken from the Chicago gangster Dillinger, killed by FBI agents. Next to it is a law library and a shooting gallery. On the fifth floor is the office of the boss, humbly called the "cave of winds." Workers in the FBI relate, and not without some satisfaction, that their famous card index contained 116 million fingerprints in 1952. "But," emphasizes Time, "visitors to the FBI will never see the card index bureau of thousands of simple citizens of the United States," that is, those who are under surveillance and whom the American okhranka watches.

Thousands of simple citizens. Thousands of opportunities to put a man to a civil death, to snatch him off the street, and force him to die from hunger. Any "differently minded" person in modern America can be accused of "subversive" activities. At Hoover's service is the law on "internal security," which stipulates compulsory registration of "subversives" and actually all who are objectionable to the heads of organizations in the Department of Justice. In 1954 the United States Congress passed a new law which declared the Communist Party illegal. The FBI is completing work on preparations for reprisals against differently minded and simple thinking Americans. Hoover and his agents are gathering "evidence," "proof," and ascertaining people's "sentiments."

How does Edgar Hoover and the okhranka which he heads operate?

Entering the FBI, Hoover leaves his mask of a pious Christian, democrat, and defender of the American family, together with his hat and coat in the cloakroom. This well-bred gentleman and worthy student of Reverend MacLeod has turned into a detective who does not disdain to use the vilest, most shameful means in his hunt for people.

Bearded Bill, exhausted and emaciated, went to a workers' meeting, held a poster bearing the words "National Unity," and joined the demonstration. Bill was marching in a picket line and distributing leaflets concerning a strike. Friendly relations with workers had been arranged, their confidence was assured. Bearded Bill is an FBI agent. This story, told in Look, shows Hoover's working methods. Provocation, espionage, shadowing. One of Hoover's assistants declared that secret FBI agents "are sent on missions into labor unions, educational institutions, industrial, commercial, and other organizations." The "other" includes everything from churches to night clubs and Boy Scout organizations. Most varied information is placed in the extensive card files. Informant ND-402 and his friends have reported that actress Helen Hayes spoke at an evening meeting organized by "Reds," and the Republican senator from New Hampshire, Tobey, visited a meeting of "leftists" in Madison Square Garden. Husband X loves to read the bourgeois liberal newspaper, New Republic, etc., etc. When it becomes necessary to ruin a man, Hoover and the FBI fabricate a criminal case from this petty information. The result is always the same. At best -- loss of a job. Often -- a long prison sentence.

Here is one of the cases of which the FBI has thousands on file. A report on it appeared in a Western European newspaper. John Lincoln, a scientist, naively believed in American "democracy." In the beginning of 1949 he was drafted into the Army. The chief of intelligence in his unit suspected that Lincoln was a Communist. The investigation began. It turned out that the FBI had information on Lincoln from the age of 12. The file contained many details of his conversations with teachers in his grade school and in high school. Teachers were asked about his views when he was 17, 15, and even 12 years old. Everything was interwoven and reported, rumours and gossip were summed up in a 7-page document.

What "compromised" John Lincoln?

A former landlord "had not recommended that he be entrusted with secret work in the United States Army."

One of the school teachers affirmed that Lincoln "had expressed radical ideas" at the age of 16.

A certain acquaintance had heard it said that Lincoln was a Communist during his student years.

While serving in the Army, Lincoln had received a letter from a labor-union worker which contained the latest labor-union news.

A certain informer reported that the "subject of investigation" is a great supporter of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The subject, it turned out, was filled with "reckless ideas" on culture and, in the words of the informer, read poetry.

Apparently, this latter "offense" of Lincoln taxed the patience of the powers that be. He was declared "unloyal."

The trial of Lincoln was typical. A dossier like the one that ruined Lincoln, a dossier where efficiency is replaced with stupidity, follows a man even when he leaves the territory of the United States. An example is the Ward case.

Herbert and Jacqueline Ward are artists. A musician and a ballerina. FBI maintained careful shadowing of the artists. Then they took part in the World Youth Festival. In 1953 the Wards traveled to Vienna. "Then we did not know that a dossier, compiled by the FBI, follows each 'suspect' American. Spinks, the vice-consul in Vienna later told me. As soon as we arrived in Vienna, our passports were taken from us. Later, for no reason at all I was thrown out of an American theater, the Cosmos, in Vienna. Interrogations and summons to the consulate coupled with endless

threats, began. For two years I was subjected to this system of intimidation, which is now the chief feature of the American public life." These are the words of Herbert Ward. He uttered them after requesting political asylum from the Czechoslovak government.

Edgar Hoover is trying to place Americans in a state of ceaseless fear.

This fear is necessary to counteract any opposition to American aggressive policy. No one can feel secure and no one can deceive "omnipresent" Hoover and his agents -- this is the leit motiv of all advertisements of the FBI in the press. Hoover and the bourgeois press are tirelessly pouring oil on the flame. On the pages of Pathfinder he wrote about perfected means of photography with secret cameras. "The subject does not know that he is being photographed. Pictures can be made day and night." An article in Look explained how FBI agents can overhear any telephone conversation. In This Week Magazine Hoover extolled the cunning and resourcefulness of FBI agents. And in United States News and World Report, reviewing the results of his work, he boasted, "The sixty-first Communist leader has been brought to justice and condemned to a period of 261 years and payment of court fines of \$361,000! "More than 200 progressive organizations have been declared "subversive."!

An old Latin saying, "man if a wolf to man," resounds for Edgar Hoover: man is a sleuth to man. An informer and provocator becomes a national hero in the United States. The sleuth, Philbrick, is solemnly honored in Boston. American newspapers suggestively play up the sizeable sums which are paid to informers. Recruitment of spies is in full swing, supplying monopolies with "cadres."

In his efforts to secure more informers and spies, Hoover has even appealed to druggists. An article appeared in the apothecary magazine, Drug Topics. The chief of the FBI wrote, "There are few people, undoubtedly, who know the life of their area as well as American druggists. Their drugstores and shops are the center of all public life of their area. They are located in a conveniently strategic position for discovering... traitors and can render valuable service in catching and exposing them." The newspaper Peoples World ironically observed that the following prescription will be sent to druggists: "Eavesdrop and report four times a day ... Doctor J. Edgar Hoover."

The FBI is one of the chief weapons in the struggle against progressive forces in the United States, against the Communist Party. Informers, spies, and provocators of the FBI serve as witnesses for the prosecution in anti-Communist trials. On the basis of false testimony, leaders and activists in the American Communist Party were thrown into prison. Time

called these trials a "national phenomenon." How this "national phenomenon" recalls the Goering provocation of the burning of the Reichstag! Now even the United States Supreme Court has cast doubt on the legality of convicting a number of Communists on the basis of the notorious Smith Law.

Hoover's agents control an entire system of shadowing and espionage in enterprises. Bugas, former director of the Detroit branch of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, holds the position of vice-president of the Ford Motor Company for "labor relations." The Bugasses openly implement their orders in plants and factories. Thus they are supervised by the direct instructions of the National Association of Manufacturers (NAM) headquarters of American monopolies.

The so-called document No 60, formulated by the Council of the National Industrial Conference (one of the departments of the NAM), authorizes for this purpose the use of informers and sleuths, the taking of fingerprints, administering the "loyalty" oath, and "verification" of the opinions and sentiments of workers.

Now the provocators themselves are unmasking Hoover's system. The scandalous Matusow affair shed bright light on the activities of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and on Edgar Hoover.

When an FBI agent and Matusow, a provocator, confessed to giving false testimony, the whole unsightly kitchen of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and other organs of American justice was uncovered. Soon after Matusow, another professional sleuth, a certain Brown, who had been receiving about \$200 a month from Hoover, publicly confessed. Elizabeth Bentley, the "queen of spies," was unmasked. These failures did not disturb Hoover. After Congress passed a law banning the activities of the Communist Party, he again urged the "denunciation of the leaders and members of the Communist Party." Denounce, denounce, denounce... the cries rang out from the Federal Bureau of Investigation. When informer Brown told one of the FBI workers that he considered the Rosenbergs, who were executed on false charges of "atomic espionage" to be innocent, the FBI men cynically answered, "Does it make any difference?" Yes, Hoover does not care a bit that the facts he needs do not exist. But "facts" can be fabricated. And cheaply -- only \$25 a day. Hoover has enough agents for this purpose.

Matusow's admission threw great light on the vile activities of Hoover's department, which fulfills the will of American magnates of capital. Here is what he related in his book, False Witness, concerning the penetration of American political police into different organs of the United States. When Matusow served at an air base in San Antonio, a certain Martha Edmiston -- an FBI agent -- operated there. Her husband, also an agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, operated as editor of a local newspaper, the Journal Herald. Jim Jenkins, an FBI agent, is a lawyer in Dayton.

During the 1952 pre-election campaign, when Matusow travelled through the states giving speeches in favor of McCarthy and his supporters, he ran into FBI agents all along the way who bossed different organs of the Republican Party. In particular, the committee which directed the campaign for the re-election of Senator Ecton of Montana to the United States Senate was headed by a certain J. H. Morros a "former" FBI agent.

Several FBI agents handled the notorious Senate subcommittee on investigations which was headed by McCarthy: a certain Don Conners -- "the investigator of the subcommittee," and Donald Surine, "a former agent." To this category also belong McCarthy's other assistants -- Hawkins and Julian. Through these representatives the American okhranka undertook different "investigations" and palmed off their spies and provocative "materials" -- forged documents -- on the subcommittee.

McCarthy's reputation was almost hopelessly tainted, and reaction for several years prior to his death did not find it necessary to resort to his services. Another "witch hunter," Senator Eastland, advanced to the forefront. He headed a subcommittee on questions of internal security and also held the important post of chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee. According to an acknowledgement by Time, Eastland "belongs to those people who, above all, are hated in the United States." He enjoys the well-deserved reputation of an inveterate reactionary and racist. Eastland is a well-to-do Southern planter and tries in every possible way to maintain the status of the Negro, who is deprived of civil rights. When the United States Supreme Court decreed that Negroes cannot be deprived of the right to vote, Eastland declared that Communists operate the court from behind the scenes. Throughout the war, he came out with such revelations as "The Negro soldiers does not want to fight," "He betrayed his country's flag," "He does not want to work." The minutes of the Senate are stained with the countless, racist pronouncements of Eastland, who heads the most reactionary wing of the Democratic Party -- the so-called Dixiecrats. He violently protested the United States Supreme Court's ruling on desegregation in state schools. Using Hoover's bloodhounds, Eastland followed the well-trodden path of provocations and different "investigations."

In the spring of 1956 Edgar Hoover mulled over the days of his youth and the days of his collaboration with Palmer. In a truly Palmer spirit, FBI agents performed a series of raids on Communist Party offices and on the newspaper, Daily Worker. At the same time a trial of seven Communists was proceeding in New York at which John Lautner, Matusow's associate and a professional informer, like a schoolboy, repeated a lesson which he learned by heart at Edgar Hoover's establishment.

The new wave of anti-Communist hysteria which surged throughout the United States was, as American observers justly noted, "like the case of the burning of the Reichstag, only without the burning". It evoked changes

in the international situation and appeared to be the response of the "witch hunters" to the rise of peaceful sentiments of Americans. Provocative raids on offices of the Communist Party of the United States, new anti-Communist trials, and a series of investigations of Eastland's subcommittee sought to "demonstrate" that peaceful coexistence is impossible and that it is impossible to deal with the "Reds."

Eastland made arrangements to announce an investigation on "the scale of Soviet activities" in the United States, and Hoover, of course, readied paid agents for this provocation. They were delivered to Eastland's subcommittee, where they presented "evidence" on the "malicious projects" of Communists against the American government. The "witch hunters" did not stop at straightforward larceny. During the interrogation before the subcommittee of the Negro Pitts, it was made clear that FBI agents had secretly entered his living-quarters and stole "Communist literature" there. By the way, among those "documents" was a newspaper, For A Lasting Peace and A People's Democracy!, and the directives of the 20th Party Congress on the Five-Year Plan. These was displayed before the subcommittee as "material evidence" of anti-governmental sentiments of Communists. By similar methods Eastland attempted to intimidate Americans workers of the New York branch of TASS -- in order to cast aspersions on the activities of the Soviet News Agency. Eastland's zeal was popularized in the American bourgeois press. He attempted to accuse several New York Times employees of being "Communists." Speaking about the investigation of the "scale of Soviet activities," an investigation unparalleled in its brazenness, Eastland declared frankly that his purpose was to achieve adoption of new "legal measures."

Thus, an attack on the rights of Americans and on their Constitution was waged by the united forces of the FBI and reactionaries from Congress. One of the A. F. Stone Weekly bulletins was recently entirely devoted to the Eastland "investigation." Stone asserted that "The Time has come to deliver a blow to witch hunters. The root of the evil lies in the existence of Congressional committees which are invested with the authority to investigate peoples' opinions and label those whom the committees suspect as "subversives" or "anti-Americans."

It is said that when Edgar Hoover was appointed director of the FBI, the following dialogue passed between him and the attorney general: "Young man," said the attorney general, "I want to appoint you director of the FBI." "I accept," replied Hoover, "on two conditions: first, no politics; second, no interference from without."

The attorney general, the biographers note, accepted these conditions. But for more than 30 years Hoover has engaged in an active politics. All of his activities have been aimed at supporting the policies of American monopolies. In the 1940's he visited the pro-fascist saloon of the widow of MacLeash, a publisher, where, over cocktails, he shared secret opinions

with the bosses of American fascists of the "American First" committee. The members of this committee were closely connected with Hitler's underground in the United States. It is clear why the unmasking of numerous Nazi agents operating in the United States was never effected by the FBI.

The American press and Hoover himself now advertise the FBI's role in the war. But a fair evaluation of this role was made in Lowenthal's book mentioned above. He called these activities "comical" and showed that all cases of spy exposés, which had been attributed to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, must be attributed to others as well. Two Nazis who landed from a submarine were caught, not by an FBI agent, but by a seventeen-year-old boy. Lowenthal paid for his words of truth. His book was quickly withdrawn from sale.

There was no time for Hoover to contend with criminals and gangsters. According to information from the FBI itself, a serious crime was committed every 14.9 seconds in the United States in 1954. In 1956 a record number of serious crimes -- 2,534,000 12 percent more than in 1955 -- were committed. Hoover and the FBI have been continuously engaged in creating a situation of terror in the country, spreading the "philosophy of fear," and suppressing progressive activity.

Has this work been successful? Listen to Edgar Hoover himself. This cheerful man, as the magazine Eye and Ear calls him, has suddenly become a pessimist. In American Magazine, in an article entitled "Communists Are Trying to Master Our Minds," Hoover was forced to admit that in spite of terror, shadowing, and persecution, the influence of the Communist Party of the United States is "much greater" than one might suspect. Hoover cannot but admit the popularity of the ideas of peace and democracy for which the Communist Party struggles; he cannot but admit that the Communists exert influence on the workers' movement. It is with good reason the work of Edgar Hoover and his colleague, the A. F. Stone Weekly, is called an "act of despair." He wrote that "It appears that we are on the verge of terror, organized by frightened people who feel that power is slipping out of their hands."

For this very reason Hoover shouts about fictitious dangers which threaten to ruin America.

What are these "dangers" from his point of view? Hoover answered this question on the pages of United States News and World Report. The dangers, it seems, are that: 1) American Communists have demanded peaceful settlement of the Korean military conflict; 2) they have appealed for the recall of American troops from foreign countries; 3) they want a pact of five great states, including People's China; 4) they want to trade with countries of the camp of democracy and socialism. It is in these things that Hoover sees danger for America -- in the reasonable

and legal demands of sensible Americans who are fed up with the policy "from a position of strength." The number of people who raise their voices in favor of obliterating the spectre of atomic war is increasing in the United States. But Edgar Hoover has faith in himself. He writes articles and speaks before Congress. His writings and his speeches are imbued with the spirit of the "cold war" and malice against Communists and all progressives. As usual he intimidates Americans with a mythical "Communist conspiracy."

The American press has called Hoover a "great crusader" and "great American." They portray him even as a certain "national tradition." But here is where Hoover and his colleagues violated the law, in the opinion of New York Judge Frank Oliver. In New York, the judge declared, "a man's home is not his castle. It is merely a dust-bin in which police can rummage. One mention of order causes lawyers to roar with laughter. If you want to see a policeman roll on the floor with laughter, mention the establishment of constitutional rights on search and seizure of property."

The police laugh at the Constitution. FBI agents smirk while popping handcuffs. The lowly American does not trust the hypocritical, profuse talk of Hoover who, leaving the FBI building, wears along with his hat and coat, the mask of a one-hundred-percent democrat. Ordinary people see him as he really is -- the chief of the political police.

For a long time Edgar Hoover has persistently woven far-flung networks of espionage. He wants to sow terror and confusion in the minds of the American people. But, unafraid of the Hoover's web which has entangled them, Americans who support all progressive mankind are waging the struggle for peace and for their democratic rights.

"SACEUR III"

M. Vilenskiy

In a suburb of Paris between Versailles and Saint-Germaine stands a small town of brick buildings of the barracks type, differing in no way from dozens of other American military centers. Here the headquarters of the Supreme Commander of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's Armed Forces in Europe are located. Disciplined military police in white gloves guard the entrances and exits. In front of the main entrance, on high poles, are the flags of the NATO member countries. Formally the headquarters employees call themselves "international soldiers." In fact, American generals are completely in charge here.

A correspondent of the West German newspaper, Die Welt, after visiting the NATO headquarters, stated, "I heard the word 'blitzkrieg' ('lightning war' - M.V.) in all the corners of these long barracks."

A treaty, called the North Atlantic Treaty, was signed in Washington in 1949 by the representatives of 12 countries: the USA, Great Britain, France, Canada, Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, Luxembourg, Iceland, Italy, Norway and Portugal. In 1952 Greece and Turkey joined it, and in 1955, West Germany. The new-born infant was diligently wrapped in swaddling clothes woven from lies about defense. The basic principles of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (abbreviated in English to NATO) were formulated in a verbose declaration of the US State Department of 14 January 1949 with the hypocritical title, "Building the Peace. Collective Security in the North Atlantic Area."

However, the aggressive nature of NATO was clear from the very first moment of this organization's appearance. And even earlier. A Declaration of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs of 29 January 1949 on the North Atlantic Treaty and a Memorandum of the Government of the Soviet Union of 31 March 1949 clearly demonstrated that the North Atlantic Treaty was an aggressive, closed, military grouping directed against the Soviet Government and the people's democracies.

Yes, and in the USA and England themselves, the birthplace of NATO, there was no lack of frank acknowledgements. Some of them were made with malicious, misanthropic joy, and others with unfeigned alarm. "This treaty," wrote the Wall Street Journal, "is a triumph, on a world-wide scale, of the law of the jungle over international cooperation". In the same spirit the Chicago newspaper, Daily News, stated, "A military union of the North Atlantic Treaty type is not, despite optimistic affirmations, a step in the direction of peace. It is a preparation for war."

Nor was the target of the brigandish surprise attack a secret to anyone. The Gazette and Daily wrote quite justly: "We are responsible for the organization of this coalition against the Russians. If it leads to war the whole world will know whose the fault is."

The grim inventiveness of the designers of NATO extended so far that they were already concerning themselves over a pretext for a third world war. Article Six of the North Atlantic Treaty provides that any incident involving a vessel or aircraft in the vast territory of the Atlantic region between the North Pole and the Tropic of Cancer can serve as a cause for putting it into effect. In other words, as soon as the masters of the Atlantic Union consider that everything is ready, they can easily concoct the required trivial incident.

NATO is a gigantic Anglo-American octopus whose tentacles have wound around the territories and economies of the other member countries. Its military expenses are a heavy burden on the ordinary taxpayer. General Gruenther, former Supreme Commander European Armed Forces, announced in the spring of 1955 that when NATO was created the countries belonging to it were spending 5 billion dollars a year for military purposes, but in 1955 their expenditures had grown to 16 billion dollars. Gruenther spoke of this undisguised robbery of the workers as of a remarkable event of which one could and should be proud.

The imperialists tried to distribute the roles in NATO as it suited them beforehand. Once in 1951 the then US Secretary of Defense, George Marshall, carelessly admitted: "Our contribution is dollars rather than soldiers. The other parties (the countries of Western Europe) are concerned with soldiers." However, even this most cynical declaration did not fully reveal the assignment of the roles in the North Atlantic Union. Not only does the US require cannon fodder from the other countries, but, as we saw above, they are also mercilessly squeezing money from them. The United States has reserved the role of super slave driver for itself.

This is confirmed if only by the fact that until now only Americans have been supreme commanders of the NATO Armed Forces in Europe (abbreviated in English to SACEUR). The first SACEUR was General Eisenhower, the second, General Ridgway. Until 31 December 1956, the NATO headquarters was directed by SACEUR III, General Alfred Gruenther. They are all representatives of the US military machine.

SACEUR has a not inconsiderable household. The armed forces command in Central Europe, the commands in Northern and Southern Europe, and the Mediterranean command are subordinate to him.

The British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Selwyn Lloyd, speaking at a meeting held at the end of October 1956 in eulogy of Gruenther, was carried away and made one quite remarkable admission. All the NATO countries, he said, "have agreed that they will not move their armed forces about in General Gruenther's zone of command without his permission." Could it be possible to confirm more eloquently the shameful fact that the decisive sovereign powers of the Western European countries have been given to the American general!

These are some brief facts on the aggressive grouping created by the USA in Europe and headed by SACEUR III, Alfred Gruenther.

Gruenther was born in 1899. His father was the editor of a newspaper in the remote town of Platte Center (Nebraska). We do not have any data on the childhood and youth of the future SACEUR III worthy of the reader's attention. There is worth mentioning only an insolent escapade of the twenty-year old Alfred, who, in his parent's absence, inserted an article of his own composition directed against the US Congress, in his father's newspaper. The young Gruenther fulminated against the high legislative assembly because of the millions spent for military needs and (irony of fate!), and argued that it would be better to use this money for libraries and the needs of society. After almost 40 years, General Alfred Gruenther, without hesitating, would strip the insignia from any of his subordinates who dared to utter such a thought.

However, the sportive son rather quickly atoned for his fault against his father. He entered a military life. Graduating in November 1918 from the Military Academy at West Point, he climbed the steps of a military career quite slowly. Only 17 years after leaving West Point did he reach the rank of captain, and in 1940 received a major's insignia. Probably Gruenther would have continued to climb the ladder of ranks at a snail's pace if Eisenhower, who, during maneuvers in Louisiana, took a fancy to the thin, wiry man of medium height with a loud voice like the horn of Jericho, had not taken him in tow.

From the very first steps of his military career, Gruenther distinguished himself as an armchair warrior. An armchair and desk attracted him more than a saddle or a battery commander's telescope at a command point. As the West German journal, Der Spiegel, points out, Gruenther's record stated that he "excelled in theory, but could not stay in the saddle of even a child's wooden horse." During World War II Gruenther served as Chief of Staff under Eisenhower and Clark. He always was "in the background", i.e., he was always substituting for someone or assisting somebody. "Gruenther," states the well-informed magazine, United States News and World Report, never commanded in battle and continually had to do "inferior, dirty military work."

Thus the post of SACEUR, head of the NATO forces in Europe, is the first more or less independent post that Gruenther has had. It is not impossible that one of the reasons for appointing Gruenther to this position was his ability to keep refractory European allies in check. Gruenther acquired valuable experience of this sort at the end of the war when he was Chief of Staff of the 15th Army Group, where, according to his official biographers, he "came face to face with the problem of adapting a staff consisting mainly of Englishmen to the requirements of American command." Gruenther successfully adapted the Englishmen to the above-mentioned requirements despite an Anglophobia engrained in

him since his youth. Gruenther himself, in a rare moment of revelation, declared that until the age of 16 he did not even suspect that the expression "damned Englishmen" was not one word.

As far as the purely military aspects are concerned, no matter where you look in Gruenther's service record, there is nothing special to praise the general for.

But that in which he was a genuine genius, that which he knew best of all sciences, was the "science" of playing bridge. The general's exploits on the green card table are impressive and unquestioned. It is even difficult to say whether Gruenther thinks in military matters as a gambler or operates like a military strategist at the card table. Having learned the secrets of bridge in 1920 while training at the Fort Knox Field Artillery School, he afterwards won the title of best American judge of bridge games and earned quite a bit as a judge (100 dollars a night). He made an invaluable contribution to the treasure-house of the science of bridge by publishing two thick studies on this game. "These treatises," wrote The New Yorker "are still regarded as the most valuable work in this field."

Thus, apart from bridge, we apparently have a mediocre man, an Army hack, not noted by the press as having great gifts. But such a conclusion would be too hasty and therefore erroneous. Gruenther's activity during the post-war years showed with indisputable clarity that this general's spiritual mechanism lacks one part which, strictly speaking, gives a man the right to call himself a man: that is, humanity. Short, undersized Alfred Gruenther, in spite of so much unobtrusive external data, quite justifiably can be considered one of the worst enemies of millions of peaceful workers.

Below we will try to prove this.

* * *

Gruenther's activity is like an iceberg - one-seventh on the surface and six-sevenths hidden from the observer's eye. But even Gruenther's public statements clearly show that he is a convinced supporter of atomic warfare and an admirer of mass annihilation weapons. It is true that he, in advocating the use of atomic weapons, like Nozdrev [character from Gogol's Dead Souls. Gambler and a cheat.] does not play quite fair, "knowing many different ruses and fine points." One of his favorite methods is to misuse the word "defense" in speeches and addresses. However, the veil of "defense" talk in no way conceals the aggressive intent of Gruenther's appeals, especially since the general lets the truth slip out at every step.

Collated, his statements on the question of atomic weapons make a rather gloomy collection. "We envisage the possibility of using atomic bombs against objectives in enemy territory," he declares without beating about the bush. Gruenther does not conceal that he intends the young

girl at a rendezvous, the old bee-keeper, and the mother sitting at the cradle to be targets for atomic attack. "Nuclear weapons must be directed against military objectives. However, it must not be forgotten that in many cases the civilian population might also suffer from this," spoke the general who supports atomic warfare, in the British House of Commons in Westminster, that very Westminster which was turned into a pile of stones during World War II. In an atomic excitement, Gruenther prefers not to think about the fate of the thickly populated British Isles if he unleashes atomic war.

Gruenther has raised Hitler's scale to an atomic level in accordance with which 10, and then even more, peaceful Soviet citizens were to be wiped out for each Fascist soldier killed. Speaking before a group of British manufacturers, he announced that for each city destroyed in the West "we could destroy 6 such cities in the USSR." On this occasion the English newspaper, The Daily Worker, indignantly wrote: "Even Hitler, in his worst moments of folly, did not dare to threaten a state with which Germany was at peace in the terms that Gruenther threatened the Soviet Union."

But the man wishing to excel Hitler's record should be reminded how the raging Fuehrer adventure ended. It is amazing, but a fact - the supporters of atomic warfare sometimes forget that it is the same distance from us to their bases as from their bases to us. And it is more than rash to forget this!

In September 1953 Gruenther's staff, according to information leaking into the American press, had already formulated a detailed plan for atomic armament in Europe, and in December 1954 Gruenther thought he had finally untied the hands of the supporters of atomic warfare: a session of the NATO Council legalized atomic warfare. This criminal decision cloaked by an envelope of apparently innocent words, is contained in Paragraph 6 of the communique of the Paris session of the Council which ended on 18 December 1954. Here is how this remarkable Paragraph 6 reads: "The Council examined a report presented by the Military Committee on the question of a more effective system of organizing NATO's military defensive power during the next few years in consideration of modern achievements in the development of arms and methods (speaking of thermonuclear weapons - M. V.). It approved this report as the basis for the planning of the defense and preparations being implemented by the military organs of NATO...". The Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Spaak, translating Paragraph 6 from a deliberately obscure language into ordinary speech, declared that these decisions give "the military exactly what they need. They demanded permission to prepare for atomic war. This permission was given to them."

Exactly a year later, in December 1955, the policy of using atomic and hydrogen arms as the basic type of armament for the troops of the Atlantic Bloc countries was officially proclaimed at a session of the NATO Council.

The task which Gruenther was given when he was appointed to his post consists of two interwoven parts: first, to prepare the NATO military machine for conducting atomic war, and second, to re-establish the West German Wehrmacht. Gruenther devoted himself fully to the achievement of these two goals. He expressed his chief strategic aim as a two-fold formula. Two things are necessary said Gruenther to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee: "an effective contribution from Germany and the ability to use atomic weapons". He is indeed obsessed by the idea of rearming West Germany. In everything Gruenther said and everywhere he spoke he invariably repeated the advantages of atomic warfare and of a new Wehrmacht. A travelling salesman of death, he toured the European capitals plugging for the rearmament of West Germany. With threats and smiles, promises and pleadings, Gruenther forced the Western European parliaments to ratify an agreement on the remilitarization of West Germany and its inclusion in the Atlantic Union. Gruenther really "hammered it up" in front of Danish journalists at a press conference in Copenhagen in January 1955. Clasp ing his hand to his heart, he said that he understood the reluctance of the Danish people, having undergone the occupation, to see West Germany armed again. More than that, he admitted that the same feelings were also noticeable in other countries. But what can be done; the general sighed and lifted his hands in dismay! Germany's contribution to "the defense of Europe is necessary."

According to Gruenther, the remilitarization of Germany is a step in the direction of unifying Europe. Without West Germany, he "explains" elsewhere, the NATO armed forces "do not have sufficient depth."

Behind all this chatter, designed for credulous simpletons, a cold, cruel plan is concealed. No matter what Gruenther repeats at press conferences and in parliaments, he needs the West German divisions as the basic shock force for aggression against the Soviet Union and the people's democracies. With the bones of West German youths, he wishes to pave a road to the East for American tanks.

He does not feel right without the German divisions. Gruenther scornfully calls plans drawn up without counting on a Wehrmacht "unsatisfactory, second-rate strategy." On the other hand, the inclusion of Germany in NATO will make it possible for him to conduct, as he expresses it, "a first-class strategy." Despite Gruenther's wish to becloud the water, it is not especially difficult to guess that by "a first-class strategy" he has aggression in mind. His concern for the speedy rebirth of the Wehrmacht reached the point that (as the West German journal,

Der Spiegel, wrote) he himself drew up a list of generals and field marshals from Hitler's army whom he would like to see in leading posts in the new Wehrmacht.

While some may have done so, Gruenther never took seriously the paper "limitations" placed on the Wehrmacht by the Paris agreements. Even before the West European parliaments started to debate the question of the Paris agreements, Gruenther assured the Bonn generals, Heusinger and Cruewell, that the new Wehrmacht would not consist of 12 divisions as the official propaganda proclaimed, but of 48.

At one of the NATO sessions, when the Bonn representatives eagerly confirmed their agreement to play the role given them by Gruenther, the latter, according to his own statement, "wished to jump up and shout, 'Hip, hip, hurrah!'".

On 9 May 1955, the 10th anniversary of V-E day, as if to jeer at the memory of the millions of victims of Fascism, Gruenther, his bosses, and his subordinates, received West Germany as a member of the North Atlantic Union.

* * *

It would seem as though Gruenther and his bosses in the Pentagon, Wall Street, Downing Street and the Cite have a reason to rejoice: their plans have almost been realized. They have the decisions of the Paris NATO session "legalizing" atomic warfare and the Paris agreements "legalizing" the rebirth of the Wehrmacht. Nevertheless, the general is in panic. To his horror, he discovered that he rejoiced too soon.

Many months ago the American magazine, Colliers, farsightedly warned: "Gruenther's difficult mission will consist of convincing unenthusiastic governments of the need to complete their military preparation for a war in which no one now believes and for which no one really wishes to prepare." Gruenther paid no attention to such warnings. In general, he paid attention to nothing except fulfilling the instructions given him: to prepare for atomic blitzkrieg and to forge a West German battering ram for new aggression. Such a limitation in point of view is perhaps permissible in bridge playing, but it is a fatal defect in politics.

In the beginning, Gruenther tried to ignore the slow but steady process of enlightenment among the widest circles of the West European public. The unchanging and consistent peaceful foreign policy of the Soviet Union, the great peaceful deeds of the Soviet people, the unprecedented growth in the Soviet Union's industry and agriculture witnessed by dozens of different visiting bourgeois delegations, unmasked the myth concocted by American propaganda of the imaginary aggressiveness of the Soviet state. And then in Western Europe they began to understand

the simple truth that the supporters of atomic warfare from over the ocean, Gruenther and Co., chattering about the defense of Europe from communism, were actually hatching sinister plans to use it in achieving their mercenary motives.

Fear is the ally of Gruenther and his bosses. This, in his opinion, is the cement which must glue together all the NATO member countries. And he encourages this fear in every way, ignoring the spirit of the times, the real facts. When, after the Geneva Conference of the four great powers, a certain lessening of international tension was noted, Gruenther hastened to affirm that this would not cause any changes in military preparations. The Soviet Union's announcement of a reduction in the size of its armed forces at first plunged Gruenther into confusion. Seeing the unanimous approval this measure of the Soviet state received everywhere, he lost his head and said that he was "meeting this step with caution." However, a week later he found himself and blithely announced that "significance should not be given to" this step. And finally, three weeks later, he solemnly said that a reduction in armed forces "could actually strengthen rather than weaken USSR military potential!"

Thus, feeling that his main propaganda trump, the affirmation of the "aggressive designs" of the USSR, was knocked from his hand, the bridge champion drew a marked card from his sleeve without the slightest embarrassment. Gruenther experiences about the same thing as the cheat, Gorekhvastov, described by Saltykov-Shchedrin. "Once I was keeping bank," relates Gorekhvastov, "and was keeping it rather well as usual when suddenly one of the punters, a stranger about two feet high, seized my hands and squeezed them so hard that the bones cracked. 'You, sir, are a scoundrel,' he said to me... 'and now I will prove it.' Well, he proved it... 'You, he said must now leave through this window.'" Gruenther was definitely afraid of the possibility of a similar ending. The general sounded the alarm. Speaking to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, he anxiously reported: "Although atomic warfare is now an accepted part of NATO military doctrine, the communists are advancing rather effective propaganda in Europe against the use of atomic weapons. The Russian propaganda on peaceful coexistence is connected with this. The Russians are beating the US in the political war. Already a slight but clear tendency toward relaxation is noticeable. This is not alarming as yet, but can become alarming."

The ever increasing demand of the peoples to outlaw atomic and hydrogen weapons is throwing Gruenther into a panic. In his speech at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York, he sounds a really hysterical note. "There is a quite serious danger," Gruenther said excitedly, "that public opinion will force the political leaders to make a dangerous compromise, which, in the final analysis, can turn out quite unfavorably for us." And pointing once again to the danger represented by "communist propaganda" against the atomic bomb, the general hysterically cried: "It would be madness to relinquish it!" (i.e., the bomb).

Fearing the insight of the peoples, Gruenther, with "genuine sadness", admitted that one of the main problems of NATO was to force the public to recognize that it was a "defensive" organization, and not an "offensive" one. In other words, he was trying to convince the peoples that the North Atlantic Treaty was intended for maintaining peace. Vain attempts!

This propaganda maneuver was unmasked in a report of the Central Committee of the CPSU at the 20th Party Congress... "The adherents of a 'position of strength' policy," the report states, "are presenting the armaments race as a basic recipe ... for maintaining peace! It is quite apparent that if states compete in increasing military might, the threat of war grows rather than diminishes".

The aggressive nature of the Atlantic Treaty, apparent from the first moments of its existence, are being revealed and confirmed daily and hourly. The following fact is one of the clearest indications. When the Soviet Union announced its desire to join NATO, the Western Powers refused. Thus they themselves exposed the insincerity of their announcements as to the alleged defensive character of NATO and showed the closed, aggressive character of this grouping, directed against the Soviet Union and the people's democracies.

Is it necessary to say that Gruenther began to exult when he learned of the bloody attack by Hungarian counterrevolutionaries, inspired by Western, mainly American, reaction.

Gruenther labelled as "freedom fighters" the butchers and murderers who unleashed the white terror in the country, the torturers who hung by the feet and burned Hungarian patriots alive. What kind of freedom? His Gruentherite, capitalist freedom of the exploitation of man by man.

The tragic Hungarian events delighted Gruenther even more because they, in his opinion, slowed down and undermined the process of relaxation of international tension, a process so odious to Gruenther.

In April 1956 SACEUR III announced that he was resigning from his NATO post to "make it possible to promote someone younger and to make way for new ideas." It was announced on the spot that Gruenther's successor would be Air Force General Norstad, again an American! Gruenther was replaced by Norstad on 31 December 1956.

As to the future activities of Alfred Gruenther, after many guesses and assumptions, it was finally announced that he had been appointed President of the American Red Cross. There is no doubt that General Gruenther will spare no pains to turn the American Red Cross into his kind of branch of NATO.

However, there are weighty reasons for supposing that Gruenther's retirement was in no way dictated entirely by his wish "to make way for new ideas." A quite sad event for the diplomat-general preceded his departure. He let out a secret. Speaking to a group of journalists at the beginning of April, he gave them to understand that in case of war the armies of the European NATO countries would be no more than pawns in the bloody atomic game, which the imperialist robbers were intending to maneuver, sacrificing the lives of hundreds of millions of people!

Gruenther's revelation caused an unbelievable stir in the Western press. Official protests followed, and, a week later, the forthcoming retirement of the chattering SACEUR III was announced. But he did not quiet down. Up to the very last day he travelled about the European capitals on farewell visits, intimidating, entreating them "not to relax their efforts", and brandishing atomic weapons.

Everyone waves farewell in his own way. True to himself, Gruenther did not forget in the end (13 November 1956) to threaten the Soviet Union with an atomic fist, covered, of course, in a glove colored with defense. He announced that in case of attack by the Soviet Union (!) the US "would resort to retaliatory measures", and "would destroy" the USSR. Thus, during three and one half years of NATO rule, Gruenther kept his style, the style of a militant atomic braggart, up to the end.

It is characteristic that Gruenther gave his last long speech in Europe before his departure for the US in the Royal Festival Hall in London at a conference of the Federation of British Industries. Hardly had he arrived in the US when he spoke, where but at the convention of the National Association of Manufacturers calling for a continuation of the "position of strength" policy. Tell me who your friends are and I will tell you who you are. However, in this case it would be more correct to speak of Gruenther's bosses, not of his friends...

The lessening of international tension "is a fact to cause anxiety," and the outlawing of atomic weapons is "madness." Such is Gruenther's "creed." And although this distorted philosophy is deeply alien to the peoples, nevertheless statesmen at the helm of some Western countries considered it possible to decorate the general who supports atomic warfare upon his departure. President Heuss of the Federal Republic of Germany gave Gruenther the "Great Cross for Services"; the former French Premier Guy Mollet pinned the "Military Medal" to his dress coat. They wished in this way to convince the public of Gruenther's "eminence." But all the activity of SACEUR III inexorably shows that he belongs to those people of whom the eminent English satirist, Henry Fielding, said "their greatness consists of inflicting all sorts of evils upon mankind."

The Legion of American Reaction

Yur. Chaplygin

There is a sentimental legend about the birth of the American Legion.

In 1918, according to this legend, when the last battles of World War I were dying away, two front-line fighters met in an American hospital in France.

The history of the Legion colorfully describes the conversation between these front-line fighters - Lieutenant-Colonel Teddy Roosevelt, Jr. and Sergeant William Patterson. The obscure sergeant and the brilliant officer had a friendly conversation about what they intended to do after the war. Both were fascinated by the idea of creating an organization which would unite veterans.

The Legion "chroniclers," recalling this "historic meeting" with tears of tender emotion, write:

"They (Roosevelt and Patterson) agreed that they wanted to return to their units as quickly as possible, 'get the whole job over with,' and then 'go home and establish a veterans' association for the good of the country'." Patterson was later killed in action.

Poor Patterson thus did not even succeed in "getting the whole job over with," i.e., the war, which was unnecessary and alien to his interests. However, the legend of the brotherly ties of friendship which so idyllically connected the aristocratic officer and the obscure sergeant continued to live. It even was a success, and a far from accidental success; in the US even legends are business. And a new mass organization, the American Legion, needed publicity (advertising) during the days of its birth.

Incidentally, this advertising was organized on such a "grand scale", that not even the most naive person could believe that it was paid for by Sergeant Patterson, living on a soldier's rations, or even the well-heeled officer, Roosevelt. Poor Patterson already lay in his grave, having died for the sake of profits for the fantastically rich monopolies and concerns. And thousands of journals, pamphlets and prospectuses shouted about the beauty of his idea of creating a legion of veterans, an organization in which there would be no ranks, in which millionaire and street-cleaner would be equal.

No, it was not the dead Patterson's legacy, consisting of a mess kit and a spoon, which became the basic capital for establishing the Legion.

From where did this by no means small capital come, then?

The American newspaperman, Justin Gray, did considerable work to answer this question. The task he set himself was not easy; the Legion's financial matters are kept strictly secret. They were veiled with new legends. In 1921 the Legion published a "Dictionary of Facts." This stated that 400 American citizens from 13 states raised \$257,000 and presented it "for nourishment" to the forming Legion. In 1923 a Legion historian, James, apparently forgetting the first legend, gave another version. He affirmed that "213 Legionnaires" paid this money. In 1946 yet another historian, Jones, without any embarrassment stated that \$305,255 was collected for establishing the Legion and that only 93 persons contributed this sizeable sum.

The further we go into historical research on the establishment of the Legion, the more we understand why the creators of the sweet, sentimental legends have entangled themselves.

Justin Gray energetically undertook to eliminate the uncharted areas in the history of the Legion. And he discovered that the version of the touching meeting of the military friends being treated for their wounds in an American hospital in France, and thinking up the "happy idea" of creating a mass veterans' organization, was a cheap invention. The facts easily refute it.

"Three years before Teddy Roosevelt was discussing the creation of an American Legion with his friend, Sergeant Patterson," writes Justin Gray in his book, "and four years before he 'introduced' his plan to fellow officers at dinner in Paris, he was already on record as one of the incorporators and directors of an organization called the American Legion."

Three years after this organization was established, they decided to arrange its second birth. The name of the obscure Sergeant Patterson was needed to put new "color" into the history of the veterans' organization, to make this history more appealing for millions of GIs (GI is a nickname for the American soldier widely used in the US) who were about to exchange their rifles for the tools of peaceful labor.

The facts which so decisively debunk the primitive, sentimental legend show exactly who the friends were who supported Lieutenant-Colonel Teddy Roosevelt, Jr. The people making up the "big twenty" who created the Legion in 1919 were as remote from the obscure Sergeant Patterson as heaven is from earth. Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., himself was vice-president of Doubleday, Doran Publishers and director of the American Express Company, which was affiliated with the Rockefeller interests through the Chase National Bank. And here, as an example, is some brief information on five of Teddy's friends who joined him in recreating the Legion.

Franklin D'Olier, the First National Commander of the Legion, was president and director of the Prudential Life Insurance Company, connected with the Morgan group, director of the Rockefeller Chase National Bank, director of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, the National Biscuit Company, the American Bank Company, etc.

David Marvin Goodrich was chairman of the board of the B. F. Goodrich Company, one of the largest concerns in the US rubber industry.

DeLacy Kountz was chairman of the board of the DeVoe and Reynolds Company, director of the Metropolitan Opera and of the Real Estate Company.

Edward Buxton was chairman of the board of the Five Textile Mills and director of the Theodore Foster and Brothers Textile Company.

Francis Appleton was director of the Waltham Watch Company, the Mount Morris Bank, and the National Park Bank, and co-owner of the firm of Appleton, Rice and Perrin.

The other members of the "twenty" who organized the Legion were also at home in the salons of capitalist magnates. It is characteristic that even the heads of the Legion were, from year to year, capitalist big shots, Wall Street manufacturers and bankers: Abel Davis, John Henry Sherbourne, Henry Fairfield Osborne, Jr., Devereaux Milburn, Lawrence Harly Whiting, etc.

The capitalist monopolies caused the Legion to be born. They paid for it. It faithfully serves their interests.

The aims and tasks of the American Legion were already determined three years before the legendary "meeting in the hospital." These tasks were determined, of course, not by such simple fellows as Sergeant Patterson, but by the brilliant big-business friends of Theodore Roosevelt, Jr. And these tasks did not consist at all of putting an end to such a thing as war; on the contrary, they were directed toward preparing millions of simple Americans for war.

The first National Commander of the American Legion, Franklin D'Olier, frankly defined another basic task of the Legion. In an article printed in the American Legion Monthly, capitalist D'Olier announced without beating about the bush that the Legion must prevent the development of progressive, democratic ideas, and the growth of the workers' movement in the US.

"Let us remember the situation after the Armistice (World War I - Yu Ch.)," wrote D'Olier. "The nerves of the whole world were on edge. Fear of Bolshevism ruled. The social revolution in Russia was accomplished by dissatisfied soldiers, and there are a great many soldiers in the world occupied only with thoughts of their troubles."

To block the stream of history, to force it to go backwards or at least to stop - that was the idea controlling the minds of the frightened monopoly bosses, before whose eyes blazed the glow of the Great October Socialist Revolution. And the friends of Theodore Roosevelt, Jr. did not spare funds for this job, for the job of struggling against life, progress, and the people who wish to be free of their adversities. The monopoly big shots called on each other to loosen their purse strings, to show kingly generosity to their donations to the Legion. Here is a typical letter from a representative of one of the largest meat-canning firms in the US to a Chicago meat seller:

"We are all interested in the Legion," said the letter, "and in the results it will have in realizing its ultimate aim - the suppression of radicalism.

"It is extremely important that we help this worthy activity. The chairman of the meeting has proposed that I approach various stockyard interests for contributions."

The "worthy activity" of the American Legion was wholly directed toward rousing war hysteria in the US, preparing the country for a new military adventure of the imperialists, cruelly suppressing the progressive movement, and mercilessly putting down of any attempt by the workers to defend their rights and achievements.

While hired historians, inspired by donations from the monopolists, are creating banal, sentimental legends of the brotherly friendship between the capitalist officer and the poor sergeant, life is creating another, truthful, genuine chronicle of the American Legion.

And this chronicle shows that the Legion is used by its Wall Street bosses as a herald of new wars and as a true stronghold of imperialists.

There is no slander against the Soviet Union too vile and unscrupulous for the American Legion to take part in. Encouragement of anti-Soviet hysteria, appeals for more and more wars against the USSR and the people's democracies, and demands for a furious armaments race are heard at all the Legion conventions.

Here is the bare chronicle.

1952

The National Convention of the American Legion adopts a recommendation demanding that the Korean war be expanded; that US mastery in the Far East and Southeast Asia be strengthened; and that war be started with China.

The Legion's Convention supports the demands of the secretaries of Army and Navy, who are urging increases in military appropriations.

1953

The National Convention of the American Legion approves a resolution demanding total war against the countries of the socialist camp and the use of atomic weapons in this war.

The Convention opposes the entry of People's China into the UN.

1954

The National Convention of the American Legion passes a resolution which states that the Legion is dissatisfied with the peaceful settlement of the war in Indo-China.

The Convention opposes negotiations to relax international relations and demands a policy of "concentrated retaliatory blows." The Convention also demands a most speedy establishment of a military bloc in Southeast Asia and the rearmament of West Germany as part of the armed forces of the North Atlantic Union. It further advised breaking with the USSR and the people's democracies.

The Convention approves the government's program of creating 137 air regiments by 1957 and supports the proposal to introduce universal military conscription in the US.

1955

The Convention of the Legion censures the US government for aid to India, since India maintains friendly relations with the USSR. In a desire to frustrate peace, its resolution called on the US to withdraw from the Military Armistice Commission in Korea.

The National Executive Committee of the American Legion passed a resolution demanding that the US continue to occupy the whole of Formosa (Taiwan).

1956

Alarmed by the collapse of the "position of strength" policy and the relaxation of international tension, the Legion's top echelon makes desperate attempts to resume the "cold war." At the Legion Convention there are speeches eulogizing the policy of strength, and harsh threats are heard against all progressive people in the US who desire peace and strive toward normalization of relations with the USSR.

* * *

There are not the slightest doubts about the political sympathies of the Legion's top echelon. They are always with those who are preparing for war. They are mortal enemies of those who fight for peace. In 1933 the heads of the Legion awarded the title of Honorary Legionnaire to Benito Mussolini. American reactionary circles more than once planned a Fascist revolution in the US with the assistance of the Legion. Its bosses never stop for a minute the frantic propaganda, full of furious anger, against the Soviet Union.

Even in 1919 those who formed the Legion were worried about the mood of the rank-and-file soldiers, who thought about the needs of the people and clearly did not wish military adventures. It was not easy to keep the deceived Pattersons obedient or to educate them to be professional killers.

But the leaders of the Legion dealt not only with some recalcitrant veterans. The Legion became the watchdog of reaction.

How the Legion is used to suppress the constitutional rights of American citizens and how it puts down the workers in the US who are struggling for their vital rights, has long been known from the boastful stories in the American bourgeois press. In October 1935 the reactionary Time magazine wrote that the slaughter in Centralia, Washington, made the American Legion famous as the most potent strike-breaking organization in the country."

In Centralia the legionnaires butchered the lumber workers organized in a labor union. Many workers were killed and mutilated during this unbridled pogrom. Since then the sorry fame of the Legion as the most powerful strikebreaker in the US has spread. Those who enter the Legion are forced to pass a peculiar examination in strike-breaking. Here, for example, are the questions which the heads of one of the New York Legion posts give the new initiate:

"Would you go on strike if the union told you to?

"Would you carry out the Legion's order if it ordered you to break this strike?

"If the Legion, through its officials, ordered you to break a strike in some other industry than your own, would you obey this order?"

The role of strike breaker and policeman is not all that is required of the legionnaire. He must also be an agent of the police detective organization, the FBI (Federal Bureau of Investigation).

The head of the FBI, Hoover, declared in a speech published in the Legion-distributed press:

"For many years the Legion, in close cooperation with the FBI, has struggled to maintain order in the country. With the coming of war, business-like relations between them became even closer and the results were even more favorable."

After World War II the "business-like cooperation" between the secret police and the American Legion strengthened. As the New Republic magazine states, "Hoover's people" still play a conspicuous role in Legion leadership.

Justin Gray relates eloquently in his book, "The Inside Story of the Legion," how Legion posts entangle whole cities in a spider web of investigation and informing. Everywhere the eyes and ears of the Legion follow every step of the American citizen; they are ready, apparently, to take under special observation and examination even the dreams of a peaceful father of a family.

"Informers," says Gray in his book, "can be both legionnaires and non-legionnaires. They can be an officer of the local post, the mayor of your city, or your nearest neighbor, a non-veteran with whom you chat each evening through your garden fence. He regularly reports to Indianapolis (the city where the Legion staff is located) everything that you say, do or think."

The power of the Legion over the fate of the ordinary American often becomes unlimited; in many US cities the Legion, in essence, controls all social and cultural life. In the US there are towns where the Legion holds all key positions. Without its assistance the demobilized soldier cannot find work. The politician who quarrels with the Legion post (the local organization) can say good-bye to his career forever.

At one time truthful reports were printed in the American press about the cities of fear. One of these cities, Middletown, was described as a place where the whole population is benumbed; each step of the Middletown resident is controlled by reactionary zealots. A cruel punishment by the Black Hundred threatened the citizen who joins a labor union. Dozens of sinister voices on the telephone frighten the person seen reading a progressive book or newspaper. And the organizer of all this torture by fear, to which the whole population of the city is exposed, is the local American Legion post.

The US ruling circles love to boast of their "objectivity", their loyalty to freedom and democracy. Therefore, even when the remnants of democratic freedoms are violated through cruel laws, when reaction is disposing of them especially uncereemoniously and brazenly, the so-called "social organizations" with a pro-Fascist slant of the American Legion type are called upon for help.

The workers and employees of a department store in the modest town of Galveston decided to join a labor union of office and sales personnel. One would think this was a quite innocent attempt, in permissible form, to defend the elementary and vital economic interests of the workers. But reaction gave the signal to deal with the progressive elements. The legislative organs of the state of Texas, making use of the "incident" of entry into the labor union of office and sales personnel, hurriedly worked out a bill prescribing the death sentence for every Communist found in the state. Under the guise of fighting against the danger of communism, it was decided to outlaw not only all progressives, but also those thinking only of defending the working rights of a citizen. An urgent investigation of communist activity in Texas was planned. No particular communist activity was noted in the state. How could it be fabricated? Here the masters of dirty business from the American Legion were called upon for help. Along with the legionnaires, professional false witnesses - the FBI provocateurs, especially the not unknown Harvey Matusow - also participated in concocting fantastic "crimes" of the communists.

In his book, "False Witness," Matusow relates more than a little about the unsavory role which the American Legion plays in the country's political life. Where the government organs and the staffs of the two ruling American parties (Republican and Democratic) must maintain the appearance of not being implicated in disgusting political maneuvers, the American Legion comes to the rescue. When the hired false witness, Matusow, had to appear as an agitator for the most reactionary candidates of the Republican Party, a "solid reputation" was created for him. It was the American Legion that did this. The American Legion magazine printed a long article advertising Matusow before his tour of agitation. This made it possible for him to implicate in a Communist plot everyone who did not support these reactionary candidates of the Republican Party, including personnel of the New York Times, hundreds of teachers, etc.

When the pillars of reaction need to get rid of unsuitable people, they mobilize the legionnaires. The blackest pages in contemporary American life are connected with the American Legion. The mass assault on the audience at a concert in Peekskill by the outstanding singer and peace fighter, Paul Robeson, was organized with the active participation of the American Legion.

Those who awarded the title of honorary legionnaire to the first "prophet" of Fascism, Mussolini, would very much like to train, from among the legionnaires, youths like the Black Shirts, who participated in the march on Rome, or Hitler's Brown Shirts. And the money-bags, interested in keeping their Black Hundred, do not grudge the funds for this training. However, it would be the grossest error to believe that all members of the American Legion are Fascists and confirmed reactionaries, or hardened enemies of progress.

Many of the present-day legionnaires have shared the sad fate of their predecessor, Sergeant Patterson, with whose name the "chroniclers" of the American Legion have speculated so unceremoniously.

Hundreds of thousands of Pattersons have been caught in its net of deceit. The fact that the real master of the Legion is the staff of the American monopolies, the National Association of Manufacturers, has been carefully hidden from them and remains hidden. The facts revealing the true purpose of the Legion have been hidden from them and remain hidden.

Of course, many of them who have been forced to do the dirty business of strike breaking, secret investigation for the FBI, and getting rid of honorable people, have been decoyed into a trap out of which it is not so simple to break. Justin Gray gives a typical statement of one of the ordinary legionnaires, a worker who is a plumber:

"I do not like this business of beating up people, but if I don't take part in it I'd have to go out of business..."

The tragedy of the majority of legionnaires is the tragedy of people drawn by deceit into proceedings hostile and foreign to them. The present-day Pattersons are beginning to understand that they have been deceived. However, the deafening propaganda, for which the monopoly big shots grudge no funds, continues to influence these people, trying to convince them that the Legion is the most democratic organization in the world, and that the Legion is defending the veterans' vital interests. The American press now speaks openly of how remote the leadership of the Legion is from its rank-and-file members. Not long ago an interesting article appeared in New Republic. It exposed the ever-growing sharp distinctions between the leaders of the American Legion and the mass of deceived and hoodwinked people who are its rank-and-file members.

During the last seven years, this magazine affirms, the Legion has been controlled entirely by a very few people, directly affiliated with banks and monopolies. Each year in May important people, bigwigs from the largest monopolies and other powers-that-be, gather to name the new national commander who must officially be elected in September at the Legion Convention.

All the decisions and recommendations adopted at these conventions are worked out by these leaders, who do not even bother to ask the opinion of those Pattersons in whose names these decisions are adopted. The warlike cliches and appeals for new military provocations that resound every fall from the convention hall have nothing in common with the opinion of the majority of the legionnaires.

The internal procedures of the Legion symbolize, as it were, that outrage against democracy which the bosses of the monopolies openly allow themselves, while strenuously advertising benefits for the so-called "free world".

The propagandists paid by the monopolies affirm that all of the members of the American Legion are equal and that there is no difference in ranks here, no distinction between rich and poor.

In practice everything appears otherwise. One of the commanders of the American Legion, Griffith, speaking before big businessmen, quite frankly spoke of the nature of that "democracy" which is cultivated in the Legion.

"Man," declared Griffith, "is a donkey, and to make him move, it is necessary to lure him from ahead with a carrot or to urge him from behind with a stick. The carrot is an incentive. The stick is a means of compulsion. In America we always use the carrot."

There are many cases showing that the attempts of the legionnaires to defend their rights have been blocked decisively and cruelly by Legion leaders.

The story of the Duncan-Paris Post (local organization) is an example of this.

This post, concerned over a serious housing shortage for veterans, decided to take the initiative. It began a campaign for mass housing construction for veterans in New York. Forty-three posts supported the Duncan-Paris Post. The former front-line fighters decided to show the public all the misery of their situation. The post negotiated with the owners of the Ludwig Baumann department store to have one of the legionnaires with his whole family, goods and chattels, settle in one of this store's windows. Two other families found a night's lodgings on the stage of one of the Broadway theaters.

The Duncan-Paris Post devoted all its effort to support of the Wyatt-Patman bill providing an extensive veterans' housing program.

The Legion heads made it appear that they were supporting the bill, "this carrot" for the legionnaires. But then the time came to fight for passage of this bill in Congress. The heads of the Legion did everything to make it fail.

This business was not finished. The Legion post which had been bold enough to show initiative and fight energetically for veterans' rights was suspended by an order from above. The Legion's National Executive Committee simply crossed this post off its lists.

This episode, and there are many of them in Legion life, showed clearly not only the nature of the ostentatiously advertised "democracy" in the Legion, where there are allegedly no ranks and rich and poor are equal. It also showed the fundamental difference between the vital interests of the ordinary legionnaires, the former soldiers, and the heads of the Legion, the rich businessmen. The legionnaire who was compelled to spend the night with his family in the window of the department store or on the stage of the theater needed the vast housing construction program as much as he needed air. But this program was not acceptable to the Legion commander and his circle because it was against their interests.

When we read the "recommendations", full of frantic hatred of progress and democracy and voicing hostility toward peace, adopted by the Legion's national convention, we can clearly see how antagonistic these anti-popular writings are to the majority of the legionnaires. It would be naive to think that the legionnaires, former front-line fighters familiar with the horrors of war, have been completely uninfluenced by that great striving for peace which is characteristic of the entire American people today. Certainly also in 1919, when the American Legion was reestablished on a new mass basis, the majority of the front-line fighters entered it precisely because they sought a peaceful organization of their lives and the prevention of more wars. Here, for example, is how Justin Gray describes his intention on joining the Legion:

"... I wished that the Legion would become a great force in the defense of peace; that it would support the majority against the minority; that it would fight for state housing construction, for price control and for racial equality."

Even those front-line fighters who could not avoid realizing the reactionary nature of the statements of some of the Legion "leaders", believed in the power of democracy and believed that the millions of veterans could realize their will, defend their interests and influence the leadership.

Today these illusions have been scattered as ashes. The peace movement has grown immeasurably. And no matter how heavy the pressures exerted by the Legion top echelon, its rank-and-file members still attempt to express their views on peace. And this desire is so strong that the middle level of Legion command, the heads of the posts and divisions, can no longer ignore it. The peaceful mood of the masses even penetrates the sessions of the national convention, meeting annually at luxurious resorts far from the homeless veterans, and the sessions of the Legion's executive committee which take place under the direct control of the "council of gods" of capitalist America, the National Association of Manufacturers. Here is an interesting case which enables one to understand how the Legion heads react to any stream of fresh wind bearing the breath of peace, which seems terrible to them. In May 1955 a

closed session of the Legion Executive Committee discussed a resolution on US foreign policy. One of the session's participants proposed a resolution encouraging peaceful foreign policy measures. The draft resolution stated that the lessening of international tension had brought the US closer to genuine peace than at any time since the end of World War I.

This innocent proposal struck the members of the executive committee with an impact as though someone had tried to set off a hydrogen bomb in the room where they were meeting. The seditious draft resolution was immediately turned down.

It is not easy to arouse war-like feelings among people to whom war is not necessary but harmful, these people, in addition, being subject to the influence of public opinion which is coming out against war ever more actively. And it must be said that the Legion heads have to overcome serious crises within their own organization. Despite the cruel punishments falling on the head of the apostate who dares to leave the organization, resignations of rank-and-file legionnaires are increasing. Between 1947 and 1950 the Legion lost over a million members. The Legion heads sought to correct this matter with the Korean war. They drew soldiers returning from this war into the Legion. However, this artificially organized influx has been replaced by a new, strong outflow.

As the New Republic affirms, despite the terror and the punishment of the recalcitrant, a series of quite significant rebellions has occurred since 1948 within the Legion. The ordinary Legion members are beginning to replace the leadership and to place people who are not so clearly connected with monopolistic circles at the head of this organization.

But the crisis which the Legion is undergoing, of course, does not change the Legion's reactionary nature. The power of military reaction in the US is as great as before. As formerly, the Legion is its stronghold and support.

International imperialism is trying to take revenge for the defeats inflicted on it by the forces of peace. Reaction is mobilizing all its reserves.

Here is how Legion Commander V. K. Daniels served these aims. Soon after his election to the position of Legion commander, he and three other legionnaires went to the Middle East, where the imperialists have increased their machinations against the peoples of the Arab countries, and primarily against the Egyptian people. Having visited Cairo, Daniels then spoke in the US, making a hostile statement against G. Nasser, Egypt's president. The commander did everything that he could, through congressmen associated with the Legion, to cut off economic aid to the Middle Eastern countries. He insisted on "condemning" the Soviet

Union in connection with the events in Hungary, considering such "condemnation" a convenient reason for organizing military interference by the imperialists in the internal affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic.

The American Legion also participated actively in the slanderous uproar organized by American reaction in connection with the Hungarian events.

The descendants of Sergeant Patterson are asking for new pogroms, wars and provocations. However, history is moving forward and reaction will have more than a little work to keep even its stronghold and support, the American Legion, unconditionally obedient.

Behind the Labor-Union Screen

G. Kulikova

The articles and speeches of George Meany... The voice of this inexhaustible orator is heard on the radio, resounds from the platform at meetings, gatherings and conventions, comes from university lecture stands, and its sweet syrup flows about the tables in the banquet halls of the luxurious hotels in the American capital city.

What is the topic of the oratory of George Meany, President of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL and CIO), which have 16 million workers of various industries as members? Is his voice perhaps thundering forth in defense of the needs and hopes of the American worker and appealing for a fight for his rights and vital interests? Especially since there is something to worry about here, something to sound the alarm about. Recent years in the US have been characterized by serious attacks by reaction against the labor unions, by an intensification of exploitation, by an increase in taxes, and by a decrease in real wages.

But the head of the AFL and CIO is not devoting his eloquence to these vital problems. Like a memorized lesson, he repeats from day to day scandalous nonsense, setting one's teeth on edge, about the conspiracies of "international Communism" and its "drive toward world domination." He advises a further armaments race and the creation of anti-Soviet military blocs, and appeals to the Western powers to refuse cooperation with the Soviet Union.

He pounces violently on all those who defend a policy of peaceful coexistence and friendship with the countries of the socialist camp.

At the American Legion convention he howls about the "Red Bear" which allegedly intends to "attack" America. At a Catholic University commencement he grieves because at some places in the US "indifference to the threat of Communism" is appearing. At the National Academy of the Federal Bureau of Investigation he advises stopping the exchange of delegations with the Soviet Union and the people's democracies. At a banquet organized by construction companies he turns on the owners with reproaches: they, you see, are not fighting against the "Red Terror" decisively enough. In saying these things, he is in no way embarrassed by the circumstance that the hands of the police whom he is addressing are stained with the blood of striking workers or that the owners are not union members but enemies of the workers.

No matter where Meany speaks, at a labor-union conference, on the radio, or at an assembly of inveterate reactionaries like the American Legion, everywhere he constantly appeals for aggression against the Soviet Union. He himself is a fervent advocate of the "crusade against Russia" and of the theory of "liberation" of the people's democracies,

i.e., of enslaving them to American capital. He is not only an enthusiastic supporter, but also an active participant, of plans intended to eliminate the power of the peoples and return capitalism to the USSR and the other socialist countries.

In distributing lies and scandal, Meany pretends to express the opinion of the workers who belong to the AFL - CIO. "We," "us," the "labor unions," the "rank-and-file workers" - these words literally permeate his language. However the facts show that millions of American workers, as well as, by the way, even entire labor unions, in no way share the opinions which are so frequently expressed in their name by the man who is the head of the American labor unions in order to leave them without leadership.

How did it happen that the head of the labor union association in the US turned out to be one of the worst sworn enemies of the first workers' government in the world, joining shameless warmongers in calling for military action against the Soviet Union?

This question can only be answered by becoming acquainted, if only briefly, with the peculiarities of the labor movement in the United States.

The American Federation of Labor was born in the days of a great upsurge of the labor movement, when the proletariat of this country was stubbornly fighting for an 8-hour workday. This was in the 1880's of the last century. A mighty wave of strikes carried along all sorts of demagogues and traitors who regarded the labor organizations as profitable business. For decades the labor unions were the private preserve of the highly paid top echelon of the laboring class, the so-called "worker aristocracy", which feeds itself with crumbs from the grand table of the monopolies. The Federation was organized by crafts and consisted of numerous small unions. The union czars, the "bosses," warred with each other for the right to lead the workers of one or another trade, or, more accurately, to see who would get their membership dues and thus become rich. A man who seized leadership, placed his people in key positions and thus ensured for himself many years of "presidency," became the master and acquired an income. "In his small kingdom he was almost a demigod, surrounded by a throng of courtiers who flattered and indulged him," wrote Fortune magazine, describing a typical union boss. Twenty-five, thirty or even forty years were common periods of leadership by a single man in the unions belonging to the AFL. Matters reached such a peculiar state that some of them proclaimed themselves president for life.

Relations between these union barons and the owners were also peculiar. They were based on the opportunistic theory that the interests of labor and capital were the same, that it was possible to establish

peace and cooperation between the classes. This thoroughly false theory let down deep roots in the US, and found enthusiastic admirers and followers. Certainly it was quite convenient for the apologists of imperialism, who even now reiterate how "exceptional" is the American way of development and describe the system of "free ownership" as a special kind of capitalism not subject to its laws. From this also sprang the thesis that there are "no warring classes" in the United States, a thesis enthusiastically held by the union leaders and used to avoid the class struggle and the implacable struggle for the interests of the workers.

These words of V. I. Lenin apply fully to the reactionary leaders of the American unions: "persons within the worker movement who belong to the opportunistic school are better defenders of the bourgeoisie than the bourgeois themselves. Without their leadership of the workers, the bourgeoisie would not maintain itself in power."

All the leaders of the American Federation of Labor have been this type of person, beginning with the first president, Samuel Gompers, a zealous proponent of the theory of cooperation with the monopolies. As early as 1915 V. I. Lenin warned the workers of the United States and other countries of the world, showing the treacherous role of the leaders of the AFL at that time. He stated that "Gompers and persons like him are not representatives of the working class: they represent only the aristocracy and the bureaucracy of the working class."

Gompers, Green, Meany, one replacing the other as president of the Federation, belong to the same category of stewards of the monopolies, and henchmen of imperialism in the worker movement. The essence of their policy consists of forcing upon the unions the idea of "cooperation" with monopolistic capital, or, more accurately, of subordination to it, of renunciation of the working class's right to government power, and of support of an imperialistic foreign policy.

In no other country have opportunistic, reformist leaders caused so much harm to the labor movement as in the United States of America. In no other country has the bourgeoisie succeeded on such a scale in buying out the heads of the working class as in the US. Nowhere are the corrupt ideas of subordinating the interests of the workers to the interests of capital implemented as openly and shamelessly or are the labor unions, these mass organizations intended to unite the workers' efforts in the struggle for their vital rights, so undermined. The American monopolies could not have achieved all this if they had not been helped by their agents, the opportunistic leaders, the "lieutenants of capital" in the labor movement, as Lenin called them, if they had not exerted every effort to split the ranks of the workers, to fetter the unions, and to turn them into an appendage of the machine of the capitalist state.

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It was 1917. The Great October Socialist Revolution had triumphed. How should this victory be regarded? There was only one opinion on this score in the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. The birth of the proletarian state held the ruin of capitalism, and threatened to undermine the way of life so close to the hearts (and especially to the pockets) of the union barons. In the hostile howl that rose from the bourgeois world the shrill voice of the American union leaders was also heard. Strangle and eliminate the country of the workers and peasants - that is what these people wished, dressed in the costume of labor leaders and pretending that they represented the interests of the workers.

Many years went by. Many changes occurred. The capitalist states were compelled not only to discontinue the military and economic blockade of the Soviet Union, but even to enter into economic, commercial and cultural relations with it. The government of the United States also established normal diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. More than that, the US and the USSR were allies during World War II against Hitlerite Fascism and Japanese imperialism.

Only the leaders of the American Federation of Labor did not change. Vying with the most shameless reactionaires, they continued a fervent anti-Soviet campaign. Each step along the path of progress, each move toward improved relations with the Soviet government was accompanied by their hysterical howls. Paying tribute to their indefatigability and zeal, the Honorary Chairman of the US Communist Party, William Foster, noted in his book, The Twilight of World Capitalism: "The conservative leaders frequently surpass the capitalists themselves in their warlike chauvinism and their pathological hatred of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party."

The life of the American labor union bureaucracy was disturbed in the 1930's when, disregarding its will and wishes, mass labor organizations, organized along industrial lines rather than along narrow craft lines, began to spring up. A severe economic crisis, changing to a lingering pre-war depression, stimulated the stormy growth of the union movement. Laws recognizing the rights of the unions (particularly, the so-called Wagner Act) passed during this period were the result of the ever-strengthening labor movement in the US.

The heads of the AFL saw a challenge to themselves and their craft organizations in the formation of the industrial unions in which all workers participated, even the lowest paid. In 1935 a group of such unions was expelled from the AFL. A second trade-union center, the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), grew up. Its creation agitated all working America. The membership of the unions began to increase rapidly. During the last 20 years the number of workers organized into unions in the US has quadrupled and now totals 16 million.

For a number of years the new labor-union center played a quite progressive role in the development of the labor movement in the country. The energetic activity of the labor unions and the powerful strike movement they developed led to a substantial increase in minimum wages, a reduction in the length of the workday, and an improvement in working conditions. The achievements of these years must also include the creation of a kind of social security system, the acknowledgment by many enterprises of the right of the workers to paid vacations, etc. All this was achieved through violent battles and a long and stubborn struggle which was successful thanks to the increasing organization and unity of the workers.

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At the end of 1955 the two labor union associations, the American Federation of Labor (AFL) and the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) were merged. This became possible partly because during the postwar years the position of the CIO leaders had come close to the position of the Green-Meany clique heading the Federation. This approach was especially noticeable in the field of international relations: the heads of both organizations actively supported the aggressive US foreign policy, the policy of building up military blocs and fanning war hysteria. But the main reason prompting the leaders of the AFL and the CIO to take this step was that they were afraid the initiative would slip from their hands. The idea of unity had always been very popular among the US workers. They realize that the weakness of the labor movement is the result of breaking it down too far, of craft organizations, and of unnecessary and harmful rivalry among the unions. This made itself especially felt during the postwar period when the reactionary forces developed an attack on the democratic rights of the people. One after the other, Draconian anti-labor laws were passed. The most vile of them were: the Taft-Hartley Act, the McCarran Act, and the Brownell-Butler Act. Using these laws, the reactionary circles directed a blow against the labor figures who were most active and most true to the cause of the working class. Whole unions were affected by the blow, namely, those that fought most decisively for the workers' demands. Many strikes were suppressed and the unions and their leaders were placed under police control.

An attack also developed against the people's standard of living. During the postwar years the workers' share in the national income fell steadily. The constant increases in prices, apartment rent, the cost of public services, etc., reduced all the workers' gains, achieved at the price of bitter strike battles, to nothing. The whole burden of the armaments race lay on the shoulders of the ordinary people. The rapidly increasing taxes are devouring at least one-third of the workers' and employees' income. According to union data, the income of at least two-thirds of American families was lower than the officially recognized minimum needed to live on.

Only by uniting their forces and by an organized struggle would it be possible to repulse reaction's attack. Vast groups of workers understood that it was time to put an end to the smallness of units and to the craft organization in the labor movement. The question of unifying the unions became the order of business of the day. It was dictated by life itself, and had to be resolved regardless of whether the right-wing union leaders wished it.

The heads of the AFL and the CIO understood the strength that the striving of the masses toward union unification was acquiring. And they could not avoid sensing the danger that, in view of the anti-labor approach by the monopolies and the furious armaments race, they might lose control of the movement for unification. It was important to them to seize the initiative and to direct the movement for unity along a channel acceptable to the monopolistic circles.

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Long before the unification congress of the AFL - CIO, the press of the large monopolies began strenuously to publicize the President of the AFL, George Meany. The large weeklies praised his gentlemanly manners and bourgeois habits. Meany, they wrote, is a completely "decent," well-brought up fellow; you see, he rides to work in a luxurious limousine, is a judge of French wines, plays the piano and is even a poet.

In this way the monopolistic circles expressed their approval of the activity of this union boss.

What are the virtues of this so-called "labor leader" which are earning such unmistakeable good-will in Wall Street? It is certainly not his gentlemanly manners or of the exterior of this stout man with the flabby, fat face, who resembles a banker or manufacturer.

George Meany began his career in the plumbers' union. Becoming head of one of its divisions in his youth, he gained the company's good will because, as the Morgan magazine, Time, noted, "he never struck." "The employers respected the word of the devout Catholic, Meany," admits the magazine, apparently considering devoutness and humility very valuable qualities in a labor-union figure. It was obviously because of these qualities that Meany soon became president of the New York State Federation of Labor, and in 1939, when the aging Frank Morrison retired, he was appointed Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL.

All his life George Meany has called on the American workers not to fight to obtain their rights, but to agree quietly and amicably to the prejudicing of these rights. He has not devoted his efforts to organizing opposition to capital, but to suppressing the struggle of the exploited against the exploiters and oppressors. Along with this he, like other opportunistic leaders, has had to continually maneuver, concealing with loud, demagogic phrases, his capitulation and cringing before capital.

Here is one of the characteristic dramatizations which Meany played as far back as the 1930's, concealing his true face from the workers. A bitter struggle for increased unemployment benefits was going on. It took an especially severe form in New York. Assuaging the mood of the mass of enemployed, Meany engaged in a noisy, demagogic campaign against the Government's New York District Administrator, General Johnson. "Meany grappled with the stormy General Johnson," said Time magazine, breathless with delight. "Meany and Johnson publicly denounced each other in statements on the radio and in the newspapers... and peacefully dined together in private."

Many years have passed since then and Meany has long since ceased to conceal his amicable relations with contractors, factory owners, plant owners, and merchants, in a word, with all the magnates of capital. He meets them quite openly as well as privately. Not many festive dinners, lunches and suppers are held in the restaurants of the fashionable Washington and New York hotels without his participation. He drinks the health of industrial and financial big shots and they condescendingly clap him on the shoulder and thank him for his faithful service.

"During my whole life I never struck, never headed a strike, never ordered a strike, and never had anything to do with picketing," Meany admitted once. And this at a time when the workers are defending their vital rights in stubborn strike battles! About 30 million workers and employees of different trades have participated in strikes during the past 10 years. And only the right-wing socialist leaders of the labor unions have remained apart from the fight. Can there be a greater betrayal of the interests of the American workers!

Here is the kind of program that Meany proposed to the unions on the eve of their unification congress: "The AFL - CIO," he wrote in the New York Times Magazine, "will be ready and able to play an important part in establishing and maintaining peace in industry. The interests of the workers and of the owners are interconnected rather than hostile. The incomes of both depend on the continued prosperity of any given enterprise and of the country as a whole. Neither can produce without the other... The majority of conflicts between workers and management can be settled by peaceful means. And this is occurring now. The only difficulty is to work out a method for settling exceptional cases, before a destructive strike or lock-out occurs."

Meany concluded the presentation of his program for class cooperation with a proposal for concluding a "non-aggression pact" between the unions and the monopolies!

"It is our duty to impose strict government control on the workers we represent. It is our duty to explain to the workers that they cannot receive the wages and working conditions that they want."

These are Meany's words. But they are spoken in the language of the owners. All the boundaries between such "labor" leaders and the capitalists have been obliterated. The capitalist is plundering, and Meany blesses this robbery and appeals for humility to those who are robbed. The capitalist intensifies the squeeze of cruel exploitation, and Meany urges the oppressed workers, weakened by the monstrous sweat-shop system, not to rebel.

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The treacherous activity of the reactionary labor-union leaders toward the workers would likely have been worth only half as much to the monopolistic circles if it had not been supplemented by anti-Soviet propaganda and by active participation in the realization of an aggressive foreign policy for the US. Meany, fortunately, is most zealous, most active and most diligent in this direction. He did not conceal his hostile feeling toward the Soviet Union even during the war, when the whole world was carried away by admiration for the heroism of the Soviet people in annihilating the Fascist horde. At this time Meany was worried only because the influence of the Communists was increasing among the workers.

What can be said then about the "cold war" years, when all America was in the grip of violent propaganda of hostility and hate, and any expression in favor of peaceful coexistence with the socialist countries was considered almost a crime. That is when these sword-bearers of the monopolies appeared everywhere. They called for a military campaign against the USSR and demanded immediate overthrow of the Soviet power.

And how many slanderous inventions were born in the bosom of the AFL, and were readily placed by Meany and Co. as salable goods on the anti-Soviet market! How much, for example, does the slander about "forced labor" in the USSR cost? How many times has it been put forward by the American reactionaries to poison the international atmosphere? How many times have US delegations brought it up for discussion at sessions of the General Assembly of the UN, drawing public attention away from the most important international problems?

However, this whole "problem" was a fantasy of a certain international committee of the AFL. "Theorists" of every kind from among the traitors to the socialists are at work in this union "state department." In particular, the renegade Lovestone plays no small role. He is considered apparently not without some basis, to be the author of many of the speeches which Meany reads from paper.

There is war in Korea. Unprecedented excitement reigns in the AFL Executive Council. With great enthusiasm they begin to disseminate chauvinist slogans. The union bureaucrats picture every strike and every attempt by the workers to improve their working conditions almost as though it were treason. When the US was compelled to seek an

armistice, the leaders of the AFL immediately appeared among those who were openly opposed to ending the armed conflict in Korea. The American newspaper, Worker, then justly noted the striking resemblance between the positions of Meany and of the American puppet in Southern Korea, Syngman Rhee: each was demanding the continuation of the blood bath.

All humanity sighed with relief when, in the summer of 1954, as a result of the peaceful initiative of the Soviet Union in Geneva, agreement was reached to conclude the 8-year old war in Indo-China. In Washington alone, tempers were not restored for a long time. The collapse of the aggressive plans and expansionist dreams caused an outburst of indignation there. Frothing at the mouth, Meany cried from the platform at the American Legion Convention that the Geneva agreement "would go down in history as a point from which there is no return."

By the way, Geneva more than once annoyed the warmongers and their union servants. The meeting of the heads of state of the four powers which took place in this city in the summer of 1955 seriously shook the ground under their feet. But even with a lessening of international tension, Meany and his associates continued their black deeds. They do not wish to reckon with the "spirit of Geneva"; they will have nothing to do with the desires of the peoples who are eager to be free of the threat of a new world war.

The idea of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems is undergoing a fierce attack from the adherents of the "position of strength" policy. In a whole series of speeches and articles, Meany is trying to vilify this idea, dear to the heart of every ordinary man. "A serious danger is threatening the free world today," he warns his audience. "It is engendered by the stupid, mistaken opinion that we can safely accept the idea of coexistence with Soviet Russia."

Commenting on these inflammatory statements of Meany's, the newspaper, Daily People's World, wrote: "It must seem strange to the people of other countries that in the United States the bitterest opponent of peaceful coexistence between capitalist countries and socialist countries is a union leader."

Meany is trying to justify his anti-Communist position. A complete "theory", claiming to be scientific, has been worked out for this purpose. It is based entirely on one false principle: the concept of class peace and class cooperation. Since the workers and the owners have identical interests, affirm Meany and his accomplices, their enemy is identical. This enemy is Communism. Under Communism there cannot be private capital, private ownership, or private industry. And consequently, they say, there cannot be a free trade-union movement. As

one can see, these pseudo-theorists consider union "freedom" to consist only of attack by reaction, anti-labor laws and persecution, and union subjugation to opportunistic doctrines concealing lawlessness and exploitation. To defend the interests of the monopolies by identifying them with the workers' interests, this is what Meany considers genuine union freedom. "The free unions of America," he writes in the above-mentioned article in the New York Times Magazine, "are fighting against Communism in their own country and in the whole world. This unchanging opposition of the American union movement toward Communism is providing a basis of security for American business." Such is the "scientific basis" inspiring the anti-Soviet activity of Meany and Co.

It is in this very theory that it is necessary to look for the main motives which led the reactionary leaders to waive their egoistical, mercenary interests and to approve the merger of the AFL and CIO. To turn the consolidated union center into a strong force for the "struggle with Communism" and to make it a hotbed of anti-Soviet propaganda--this is the aim of Meany and the other reactionary union leaders. It is enough to study the foreign policy resolution adopted at the consolidation congress. What doesn't it contain! Appeals for an even greater armaments race and an expansion of the military blocs, the demand not to let the People's Republic of China into the UN, attacks against the idea of coexistence, appeals for "the liberation" of the people's democracies, etc., etc. All this was flavored with sizeable doses of anti-Soviet slander and demagogic statements about the "threat of Communism."

The ruling circles of the US did not oppose the consolidation of the two union centers. "I hail the consolidation of the unions," spoke the Governor of the state of New York, Harriman, at the consolidation congress, "because the American unions have done more in the struggle with Communist subversion in the country and abroad, and have supported our government more straightforwardly than any other organizations in the US." Thus the monopolies expressed their approval of the action of Meany and his clique, through the words of this millionaire.

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In October 1945 the World Federation of Trade Unions was established. This was the most representative and inclusive international organization in the history of the labor movement. It included all the large national union centers, all, with the exception of the American Federation of Labor. The top echelon of the AFL was not in favor of the democratic forces which united to consolidate the victories achieved in the struggle against Fascism, and to ensure a firm peace in the future.

Even during the war the American Federation of Labor began to raise a fund to help the European unions. The last salvos had not died out when the Federation's ambassadors appeared in Europe. They came to help

reestablish the unions, they said innocently. As a matter of fact, their purpose was to split the ranks of workers and to repulse the upsurge of the labor movement resulting from the victory of democratic forces over Fascism.

In Italy the "union" emissaries Dubinsky and Antonini were active, in France, Irving Brown, and in Germany, Rutz. They squandered money, bribing the labor leaders, spread anti-Soviet slander, and gathered the Quislings and Vichyites of yesterday around them. This was a carefully prepared plan to prevent the unification of the worker class. Its aim was the creation of a new international organization subordinated to the aggressive policy of the US ruling circles.

This plan was created by the top echelon of the AFL. The union leaders served only to carry out the will of those who determine and the political program of the monopolistic circles. It was no accident that the ambassadors of this top echelon in Europe were also agents of the US State Department and of the American secret political police, the FBI. In essence, the name AFL was only a screen concealing hardened spies and intelligence agents.

We must give the French workers their due; they soon recognized the underlying intentions of the American salesmen operating under a union cloak and evicted Irving Brown from their country. "This lackey of the American reactionaries," wrote the workers' newspaper, La Vie Ouvrier, on 31 October 1946, "tried to make connections with everyone in France who wished to fight against the World Federation of Trade Unions. He sought out everyone, who, under the cover of anti-Communism, was ready to destroy union unity. He drew in Munichites and Vichyites, seeking to create from them a group of advocates of a new war."

Brown was compelled to leave France and set up headquarters in Brussels. Here, in the luxurious Atlanta Hotel, was also located the suite of the so-called "European Bureau of the American Federation of Labor," a nest of spying and provocations, the center of anti-labor and subversive activity. From here, the threads of the conspiracy stretched into the countries of Western and Eastern Europe. Here the secret war against the international labor movement was begun.

The reactionary press thinks highly of Meany because he was first among American union leaders to come out against the international association of workers, the World Federation of Trade Unions. Meany has performed quite a few such "services." He directly supervised the pernicious activity of the American agents operating in the European unions. It was certainly not without reason that he boasted that AFL money "split" the General Confederation of Labor of France." Actually, quite a lot of money was spent for the subversive activity. A figure of 160 million dollars was mentioned at the AFL congress in 1948 as having been

spent to "bring life to the free union movement" ("free" in the American meaning). But, obviously the expenditures were not limited to this sum. In addition, it was discovered that considerable funds come to the union bosses from funds of the President and State Department of the US. The reactionary American newspaper, New York Journal American, admitted in May 1953 that the main center of American espionage, the US Central Intelligence Agency, "gave the AFL almost 3 million dollars for conducting secret political activity in France, Italy and some other countries."

But the plans of international reaction failed. The AFL money did not undermine the General Confederation of Labor of France, nor did it undermine other labor centers in Europe. In 1952, after a 6-week trip to Europe, Meany was convinced of the stability and popularity of the progressive labor organizations in France and Italy. This made the union boss so wild that he not only threatened his henchmen, but also sharply criticized the European ruling circles, which, in his opinion, were not sufficiently fervent in the fight against Communism. "They let us work on this, but do not wish to raise a finger themselves," complained this defender of the interests of US monopolistic circles.

International reaction's plans to destroy the World Federation of Trade Unions also fell through. The withdrawal in 1949 of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the British Trades Union Congress and a number of small trade unions did not destroy the Federation. It not only maintained its influence, but even grew stronger, increased its membership and acquired great authority among the workers.

The connection between the policy of preparing for war and the subversive activity of the trade-union schismatics is very direct. It is not difficult to be convinced of this. It is enough to remember the attitude of the leaders of the International Confederation of "Free" Trade Unions (ICFTU) towards the heroic struggle of the French dock workers against deliveries of American arms to West Germany. Irving Brown, an active worker in the Confederation, was sent to Marseilles. According to evidence of the French newspaper, Le Soir, a group of cutthroats recruited by him came with him. Writing about the activity of this group of criminals, the American magazine, Business Week, stated: "From time to time first one and then another of the confirmed Communists had to be brought to the hospital. Some of these Communists unexpectedly disappeared into the dirty water at the wharf."

The leaders of the ICFTU christened such gangs, "vigilance committees," and tried to convince the public that they were formed by the workers themselves to fight against the "Communist threat."

Recently there has been a notable development of contacts between different countries. There is a constant exchange of parliamentary, cultural, sports, trade-union and other delegations. Naturally, the

possibility of establishing relations with the workers of the socialist countries has received the attention of the trade-union public in America also. This has been encouraged since there has been an exchange of agricultural, construction, medical, journalist, etc., delegations between the US and the USSR. "Why not exchange labor delegations?" many union workers have proposed. But, like everything else that might lead to a strengthening of friendship and cooperation between the peoples, this proposal was shoved aside due to the enmity of Meany and his cohorts. They do not want the ordinary people of America to know the truth about the country of socialism. Let them live on slanderous nonsense, the fruits of the evil imagination of the adherents of aggression. "The smiles of the Soviet leaders are more dangerous than threats," admonish the heads of the AFL-CIO in supporting the "cold war."

At the dictation of the bosses from across the ocean, the International Confederation of "Free" Trade Unions issued a directive forbidding all the national centers which were members of the ICFTU to exchange delegations with trade unions belonging to the World Federation of Trade Unions. This is the way that the trade union bureaucrats once again undertook to strengthen friendship and mutual understanding among the workers of different countries. Thus they once again proved that they are not at all guided by a striving toward peace as they demagogically affirm in their endless statements.

To understand thoroughly how harmful the schismatic actions of these trade union accomplices of the monopolies, of the American trade union bureaucracy, are to the worker class, let us pose this question: who will benefit from a split in the international labor movement? It is quite clear that the strengthening of friendship and cooperation, constant communication, exchange of delegations, etc., could bring nothing but good to the workers of the different countries. As far as the monopolistic bosses are concerned, it is no secret that they are afraid of the development of such relations, of the workers of the Western world learning about the achievements of the people's democracies, and of the strengthening of unity among the workers in general. Consequently, the actions of the American union bureaucracy and of the top echelon of the ICFTU are of benefit only to the capitalists. They cause great harm to the workers and to the whole international labor movement.

In serving Wall Street, Meany and his cohorts are actively helping the imperialists in realizing their colonial policy. Take, for example, the attitude of the top echelon of the AFL-CIO toward the aggression by England, France and Israel against Egypt. They kept quiet when the troops of the imperialist usurpers committed outrages on Egyptian soil, killing thousands of peaceful inhabitants and destroying ancient Egyptian cities. And this is not surprising if one keeps in mind that the leaders of the AFL-CIO echo their masters in expressing indignation

at Egypt's nationalization of the Suez Canal. One might wonder what business of Meany and his clique this was. Certainly the nationalization of the Suez Canal in no way affects the situation of the workers of the US or of any other country. The Egyptian workers gain from this move, as do the entire Egyptian people, who threw off the chains of colonial oppression and who entered the path of freedom and independence.

Nevertheless, Meany fought for "internationalization" of the canal, i.e., for giving it into the hands of the monopolies. He even took it upon himself to send a special letter to Secretary of State Dulles proposing that "pressure be put on" Egypt. A resolution of the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO was attached to the letter. In it, crude attacks against the Egyptian government and President Nasser of the Republic of Egypt alternate with appeals for "internationalization" of the canal.

Is it possible to express oneself more clearly on the question of the national liberation struggle of the colonial peoples?

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At the end of 1952, an underground organization, Wolnosc i Niepodleglosc (WIN), was exposed in People's Poland. It was engaged in espionage and the preparation of sabotage and terrorist acts and was financed from the US. The leaders of WIN confessed their guilt to Poland's state security organs and admitted that they had received more than a million dollars from American intelligence agencies. The underground workers received additional subsidies from a certain agent known as "The Brown One." It developed that Irving Brown, who is both a trade-union worker and an agent of the US Central Intelligence Agency, had disguised himself under this nickname.

"The Brown One", Brown, has large sums at his disposal which come from appropriations made under the so-called Mutual Security Act. This law, unprecedented in international practice, earmarked 100 million dollars for active subversion in the socialist countries. In succeeding years Congress has continued to make generous appropriations for these purposes. A considerable part of this money also passed through the hands of the trade union agents.

As far back as the convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1948, Brown openly declared that the "AFL is creating a US fifth column in the people's democracies to operate in favor of the US." This type of activity had to become one of the chief aims of the International Confederation of "Free" Trade Unions. And although at that time it was only in the planning stages, Brown, in the same statement, proclaimed that the first point in its program must be "assisting in the overthrow of the present governments of Eastern Europe." The Danish newspaper, Land og Folk, published a secret resolution of the executive council of the ICFTU. This resolution stated directly that one of the Confederation's aims was espionage in the people's democracies.

Other personnel of this type also did not conceal the plans of reaction with regard to the people's democracies. Meany, for example, made a special announcement in which he called on the emigre organizations for support. With the help of the AFL, an espionage center called "Free Trade Unions in Exile" was organized. It contained not only Fascists and traitors hiding from the people's courts in the Eastern European countries, but also white-guard rabble who still cherish the dream of overthrowing the Soviet system.

The participation of US "trade union" agents in subversive activity has been proven in places other than Poland. It has been revealed that the top echelon of the AFL was connected with the reactionary underground in other countries also. For example, the American magazine, Reader's Digest, had to admit this in its pages.

What a howl the trade-union servants of the warmongers raised in connection with the unsuccessful attempt to eliminate the people's democratic system and re-establish the power of feudal counts and capitalists in Hungary! A message to President Eisenhower, a telegram to Secretary of State Dulles, an appeal to the UN. At this time Meany did not have a minute's peace. He spoke on the radio, wrote articles, protested, demanded. More frequently than at any time he used the words, "workers," "trade unions," "we," "us," trying with all his might to prove that it was not he and his clique, but the American workers who were grieved by the defeat of the Fascist-Horthyite hordes in Hungary.

The Executive Council of the AFL-CIO was called and a declaration, full of anti-Soviet slanders, was adopted. Introduce UN "police forces" into Hungary, do not recognize the Kadar Workers' and Peasants' Government, and stop all cultural and scientific exchange with the Soviet Union; such were the demands of the American trade union top echelon. More than that, they also appealed for organization of an economic boycott of the Soviet Union, i.e., an attempt to re-establish the "cordon sanitaire" which was used against the young republic of workers and peasants at the very beginning of Soviet power. The leaders of the International Confederation of "Free" Trade Unions also held this line.

In order to complete the portrait of George Meany, we present one more fact. Recently in the United States a book was published by the so-called Un-American Activities Committee of the House of Representatives. This was a collection of articles filled with anti-Soviet slander and war propaganda. Here shameless, monstrous lies alternate with crude falsifications. The authors of the collection (a total of 120) include the most shameless American reactionaries and militarists. Here is the chief of the secret police, Edgar Hoover; the provocateur, Louis Budenz, who appeared as a false witness at trials of Communists; and a whole group of generals driven by the thirst for blood.

And George Meany was willing to appear among them and to urge on, or at least keep up with the eager propagandists of aggression. Well, it is just among the proponents of war that he belongs.

At the same time it is quite clear that there is a deep gulf between him and the vast mass of US workers. All his activity and all his speeches and articles glaringly contradict the interests of the ordinary peoples. And no matter how many times this arms-bearer of Wall-Street repeats the pronouns, "we" and "us", he will not succeed in convincing the world public that he expresses the opinion of the American people. The facts show that the ordinary people think and speak quite differently.

Voices demanding changes in the present US foreign policy are being heard more and more frequently at union conventions and at workers' meetings and conferences. Many union figures, even such prominent ones as Walter Reuther, president of the United Automobile Workers, Potofsky, head of the garment workers, and others have criticized the present policy.

Before us lies the newspaper, Labor News, published by the unions in Rochester (New York). "They calm us with fairy tales of how," the editorial states, "everything is well in the world and we can defend ourselves by creating more and more modern destructive military machines. But everything cannot be well in the world while we, the people of the West, do not exert all our efforts to learn to live in peace and cooperation with other peoples, including the Russians and the Chinese."

Nor is it superfluous to recall the resolution adopted at the conference of Illinois unions. It calls for negotiations "at every possible level, to eliminate the conflict between East and West."

It is apparent from this that the American workers have certain aims and the reactionary union top echelon has quite other aims.

The ordinary people in America want peace and broad cooperation with the USSR and the whole camp of democracy and socialism. But the union barons are cooperating with the monopolies and helping them in the preparation of war and other armaments. This is the tragedy of the American labor movement.

The workers have become sick to death of the accomplice of the warmongers, George Meany. But the Wall Street bosses approvingly pat him on the shoulder.

GREAT BRITIAN

"The English bourgeoisie has always stood and continues to stand at the forefront of the enemies of the liberation movement of mankind." -- I. V. Stalin

Captains of British Industry

P. Snegov

In the center of London, not far from the luxurious royal palaces and massive government buildings, stands an ordinary house with nothing noteworthy about its appearance. Its picture does not appear on the colorful postcards with views of the English capital. They do not show it to the tourists who usually throng in front of Buckingham Palace, Westminster or the Prime Minister's residence on Downing Street. Nevertheless, the house, and mainly its residents, deserve that more be known about them. It is especially important that the truth be known about them.

The head office of the Federation of British Industries is located in this house. This organization does not attempt to be well-known and does not publicize its activity. It prefers to operate behind the scenes and to do its business quietly. Here honorable gentlemen who discuss and pass laws in Parliament meet. The government rules the country. But the real, commanding and omnipotent rulers of Great Britain and the British Empire are found in this modest house at No. 21 Tothill Street.

The members of the British Parliament, the ministers, generals, ambassadors, government officials and numerous government committees, commissions and offices only carry out the wish of the Grand Council of the Federation of British Industries. They give its wishes the form of legislative acts and governmental decrees, orders and instructions. They carry out the Federation's orders implicitly. And they do this especially eagerly because the majority belong to the same class as the members of the Grand Council. Its orders are published nowhere and are seldom spoken aloud, but those for whom they are intended always understand them. Most frequently these orders are simply anticipated. If some minister, member of Parliament or high government official does not understand, or even more, if he does not do what was expected of him, he simply would not be a minister, member of parliament or high government official; in Great Britain, as in any capitalist country, it is impossible to ignore the will of the ruling class with impunity. And the Federation of British Industries is its most powerful and authoritative organization, an association of industrial, commercial and financial oligarchs and monopolists.

What is the Federation of British Industries? What is its role in the life of Great Britain? What influence does it have on the country's domestic and foreign policy? What is its interest in the armaments race? To attempt an answer to these questions, it is necessary to dwell briefly on the Federation's history and organization and on its past activity.

The Federation of British Industries was established in 1916. It was established to combat the growing worker movement, as a center from which to lead the attack on the vital rights of the working masses, to expand in the international arena, and to compete with the other imperialist plunderers. The great British capitalist companies, in creating the Federation, also intended that it should represent their common interests in other national associations, governmental departments and international organizations.

The Federation's task, states the "royal charter," is the "encouragement, promotion, and protection of British industries of all kinds." This vague definition does not at all reveal the true purposes of the Federation of British Industries.

The monopolists themselves, in the Register of British Manufacturers published in 1955, write that the basic task of the Federation of British Industries is to formulate policy for the country's industry, and also to deal with all aspects of industrial activity in Great Britain. However, the authors of this statement blurt out there and then that the Federation is a "strictly non-political" organization, apparently having in mind that it is above the ostentatious wrangles which occur between the leaders of the two main bourgeois parties, the Conservative Party and the Labour Party.

The Register of British Manufacturers also gives a veiled indication of the methods by which the Federation operates. It states that "as national spokesman of industry the Federation deals directly with the government, the public and other organizations at home and overseas, or indirectly through its representation on numerous governmental and other bodies."

The Federation's annual report for 1947 stated that it has representatives in 36 ministries and other British governmental establishments. In addition, it has confidential agents in more than 20 industrial, scientific, legal, commercial and educational organs which have considerable influence in the ruling circles of Great Britain. The Federation's representatives sit officially in the following ministries: board of trade, colonies, education, fuel and power, health, labour, transport and civil aviation; and in the following councils: scientific research, economic planning, the National Production Council operating under the chairmanship of the chancellor of the exchequer, and others.

The Federation of British Industries has 6,800 individual industrial companies and firms and 300 trade associations as members. Huge monopoly companies, with up to 100,000 workers, and also firms employing under 100 workers belong to it. In addition, there are many thousands of firms which, as members of the trade associations, are indirectly under the Federation's influence. It goes without saying that the owners of the huge monopolies run the whole show in the Federation of British Industries.

The Federation's administrative organ is the so-called Grand Council. It is elected every three years and has 400 members, two-thirds of whom are nominated by the trade associations, and the remainder, by the individual firms and companies. The president of the Federation is chairman at sessions of the Grand Council; he is elected annually. But usually he holds office for two years in succession. The presidents are usually directors of the largest industrial companies and trade associations. The Grand Council has standing committees on economic policy, foreign trade, taxation, fuel and power, transportation, education, technical legislation, and other problems. There is also a Scottish Council and 10 regional councils, which consist of the representatives of the leading industries of the given region. The Grand Council can appoint an unlimited number of special committees.

The headquarters staff numbers about 160, and is headed by a Director-General. There is a General Secretary's department and four directorates: economic, technical, home services and information, and overseas.

The leading posts in the Federation are held by the representatives of "big business" and people closely connected with government circles. One of the presidents of the Federation was Sir Harry Pilkington, chairman of the huge company, Pilkington Bros. Ltd., and director of many other companies, mainly producing glass. Since 1946 Sir Norman Kipping has been Director-General of the Federation; during World War II he headed one of the divisions of the Ministry of Production and in 1945 was Under-Secretary, Board of Trade. In addition to handling the duties of Director-General, Kipping is also a member of the British Productivity Council, the Dollar Exports Council, and a number of other governmental committees.

William Edwards is Home Services and Information Director at the Federation's headquarters. He worked for a long time on the boards of railroad companies, and during World War II held responsible posts in the ministries of supply and production. After the war Edwards was in the Board of Trade, and also headed the British Information Service in the US. Douglas Walker, who formerly worked in the British Foreign Office has been General Secretary of the Federation since 1921.

All the Federation's activity, controlled and managed by the large industrial, commercial and financial magnates, is directed toward protecting and securing the interests of the British monopolies. The Federation came out actively against the British workers during the railroad strikes in 1919, during the lockout of miners in 1921, and during the general strike which took place in Great Britain in 1926. An official report published by the Federation in May 1926 stated that "upon announcement of the general strike, the Federation of British Industries placed its organization at the service of the government." The government thanked the Federation for its assistance in suppressing the strike in a special message.

The Federation of British Industries cooperates closely with other British associations and unions of capitalists. One of these associations is the British Employers' Confederation. It covers 62 British industries which employ over 70 percent of the workers. The Confederation's basic task is to oppose collectively the demands for improvement in the conditions of the workers.

Another British association with which the Federation of British Industries maintains close contact is the National Union of Manufacturers. This union unites 5,500 firms and 72 trade associations. It unites and controls mainly small and average-size firms.

The Federation of British Industries, the British Employers' Confederation, the National Union of Manufacturers, and also the Association of British Chambers of Commerce, the British Trades Union Congress and the administrations of the nationalized British industries comprise the so-called British Productivity Council which deals with the intensification of labor in British factories and plants. Because of its colossal economic power and great political influence, the Federation of British Industries holds a dominating position among these organizations.

There are special subsidiary organizations to disseminate propaganda among the workers at the order of the Federation. These are the Economic League and a company called "Aims of Industry." Each year they spend about a quarter of a million pounds of sterling to convince the British workers to work harder and obtain less. The aims of the Economic League are: "to fight steadfastly against all detrimental movements... to encourage free ownership... to fight against further nationalization." Thirty of the 40 persons comprising the League's Council are directors of 190 companies. Here are represented huge steel mills, machine manufacturing monopolies, insurance companies, four of the "Big Five" British banks, etc. The Vice-President of the League is Lord McGowan, who was a member of the Anglo-German Fellowship in the 1930's and who was personally received by Hitler. Two other prominent members of the Council of the Economic League are Viscount Runciman and Sir Harry Brittain, who also belonged to the Anglo-German Fellowship.

The company called "Aims of Industry," states that it strives to give "continuous and well-rounded" information to "industrial workers and the public on the share which free ownership has in the well-being of the nation." According to this organization's statistics, 500 newspapers and magazines utilized materials it had prepared during 1952.

The members of this company's council are directors or hold other high posts in 393 industrial and financial companies. The president of the company is Lord Lyle, the British "sugar king" and former member of the Anglo-German Fellowship.

Why do the British capitalists need to establish special "owners" propaganda organizations at a time when, even without this, the whole British propaganda machine, including the press, the radio, movies and the staffs of the bourgeois parties, is working for them? An answer to this question can be found in a British pamphlet, The Danger Signal. " ...The organized efforts of industry," it states, "if they are well directed, will be more effective than the efforts of the political parties, since industry and non-political educational organizations which speak for industry have better access to the masses of workers and can treat them with less prejudice."

The Federation of British Industries has always been on guard for the interests of the British capitalists. At the end of World War II the Federation sent a memorandum to the Board of Trade demanding that the Government relinquish even the quite moderate control over industry which it held during the war. The memorandum stated that the Government must outline only the basic plan for the national economic policy, giving the trade and industrial associations true control over this policy.

After the war the Federation of British Industries repeatedly submitted official demands to the government concerning the granting of new privileges to the manufacturers at the expense of the people. Thus, in January 1947, the Federation demanded a considerable reduction in direct taxes of the Exchequer, especially in taxes on profits, even if this hindered the balancing of the British budget.

The government carried out this demand without objection. The government was careful to see that the measures they implement conformed with the interests of the organizations of big British capital. In March 1948 the Chancellor of the Exchequer sent the Federation of British Industries and some other big capital associations a letter submitting the government's future financial and economic policy for approval by the manufacturers. The Federation coldly replied to the Chancellor that his policy of "freezing prices, wages and profits," was only a partial and temporary solution to the problem of inflation in Great Britain and was "in principle quite unsatisfactory." The Federation outlined its own much stricter program. Three days had not gone by when the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in a servile letter addressed to the leaders of the Federation of British Industries and other interested organizations, answered that their proposals were a good basis for further measures which "will be of great importance for the country if they are implemented in a spirit of cooperation."

The demands of the Federation of British Industries always have a strongly pronounced class character. They are directed toward making the owners and bankers wealthier. Before submitting the regular budget to Parliament, the British government, either Conservative or Labour,

usually receives and carefully studies a budget memorandum from the Federation of British Industries. After considering the Federation's detailed demands, the government submits the budget to Parliament.

The type of demands which are made to the Government can be seen, for example, in a memorandum submitted by the Federation to the Chancellor of the Exchequer in March 1951. Here is what the big shots of British industry demanded: a 300 million pounds sterling reduction in government expenditures for local self-government, mainly for housing construction; "savings" of 300 million pounds sterling for social measures; abolition of taxes on company profits; reductions in direct taxes and increases in indirect taxes such as taxes on consumer goods, which fall mainly on the workers.

In the middle of July 1956 the Federation of British Industries, the British Employers' Confederation, the National Union of Manufacturers, and the Association of British Chambers of Commerce set forth, in a joint declaration, the principles on which government's industrial and financial policy should be based. Two weeks later, Prime Minister Eden called a meeting attended by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Minister of Labor and National Service, and also representatives of the Federation of British Industries, the British Trades Union Congress, the British Employers' Confederation and representatives of the nationalized industries. A Government announcement, published after the meeting, reflected the principles of the British capitalists exactly.

A great number of such examples could be given. They all show that the Federation of British Industries, as an organization of exploiters, is only concerned with its egotistical, strictly class interests. The drive to obtain maximum profits, the consolidation of its ruling position within the country, and the strengthening of British monopolies abroad - these are the basic motives underlying all its activity.

The Federation of British Industries has broad international connections. It is a member of the Council of European Industrial Federations and is represented in the International Chamber of Commerce. The Federation has played a leading role in the formation and activities of the Anglo-American Council on Productivity, which had the basic purpose of applying American sweatshop production methods in Great Britain. The Federation has representatives and correspondents in more than 100 cities throughout the world, including all the large capitalist countries. The Federation has a special council concerned with promoting British exports to the dollar area. This Council's work is actively supported by the government. High-level officials in government departments attend its meetings.

The activity of the Federation of British Industries in the international arena serves the expansionist aims of the British monopolists. In the interests of obtaining maximum profits, the individual companies belonging to the Federation and the Federation as a whole undertake all sorts of schemes, unconcernedly waiving the national interests of their people. A clear example of this activity is the Federation's agreement of March 1939 with the German Reichsgruppe Industrie. Striving at all costs to bring Germany and the Soviet Union into conflict, the British ruling circles decided to support the Munich political agreement with an "economic Munich." With this purpose, negotiations were organized in Dusseldorf between the Federation of British Industries and the German Reichsgruppe Industrie. The British President of the Board of Trade, speaking in Parliament, announced that these negotiations were going on with "the full knowledge and approval of His Majesty's Government," and expressed hope for their success.

* * *

The Federation of British Industries implements its policy and influences the various governmental, administrative and public organizations through its numerous representatives, henchmen and supporters in these organizations.

Thirty-four ministers of the 1954 Conservative Government, before entering the government were directors of a total of 102 corporations, companies and banks. Although a minister must formally leave his position of director after taking a government position, actually his connections with the company do not stop. He keeps his shares in this company and, after retiring, can again resume his post of director.

Let us examine the composition of the last two Conservative governments. Their members had been directors of large industrial and financial monopolies. Former Prime Minister Eden was director of the Westminster Bank; a company mining copper and sulfur in Spain, the Rio Tinto Company; and a large insurance company, Phoenix Assurance, which has shares in 17 other insurance companies. The present Prime Minister, Macmillan, was director of three companies, including the largest publishers in England, Macmillan and Company. Lord Privy Seal Butler is the former director of the largest company producing synthetic yarn and fabric, Courtaulds, which owns huge enterprises in Canada, the Union of South Africa, Spain and Australia as well as in Great Britain. Lord President of the Council Salisbury was director of the Westminster Bank and of an insurance company. Minister Duncan Sandys was formerly director of three companies mining gold in West Africa. The Minister of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food, Heathcoat Amory, was formerly director of Lloyds Bank and the family firm, John Heathcoat and Co. This list could be continued.

According to data in John Gollan's book, The British Political System, directors of 28 powerful trusts held 10 Government posts, including:--the Foreign Secretary, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the

Minister of Materials, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Secretary of State for Air, Minister of State Board of Trade, and the Minister of Transport and Civil Aviation. Eighty-eight of the directors of these trusts are members of Parliament. "They control the whole government apparatus," states Gollan. "Five of these directors are members of the Advisory Committee of the Exports Credit Guarantee Department; the chairmanship and three seats on the Board of the Capital Issues Committee belong to the trusts; they have the chairmanship of the Public Works Loan Board, four seats in the Colonial Development Corporation, the chairmanship of the Wheat Commission, the chairmanship of the National Research Development Corporation; they have several members also on the Advisory Council of the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research.

"They have two seats on the Board of the British Overseas Airways Corporation and the Vice-Presidency of the Air Transport Advisory Council, the chairmanship and two governorships in the British Broadcasting Corporation, and the Chairmanship of The Times. They hold seven positions in the Royal Household: Lord Chamberlain, Lord Steward, Master of the Horse, three Lords in Waiting, and one member of the Corps of Gentlemen at Arms.

"The directors hold the following military titles: Army -- one Field Marshal, one General, one Brigadier General, one Lieutenant General, two Major Generals, and six Colonels; Air -- one Marshal of the Air Force, one Air Chief Marshal, and one Air Commodore; Navy -- one Admiral of the Fleet." (J. Gollan, The British Political System, p 13)

Many members of the Government and representatives of business circles are closely interconnected by family relationships. Former Prime Minister Eden is married to one of Churchill's nieces. Minister of Defence Sandys and Conservative Member of Parliament Soames are related by blood to Churchill. And there are other examples. Former Secretary of State for Scotland Stuart married into the family of the Duke of Devonshire. Former Lord President of the Council Salisbury is also connected with this family. Former Minister of Defense Monckton was married to Salisbury's first cousin. Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations Lord Home has family connections with the Conservative members of Parliament, Viscount Lambton and Major Anstruther-Gray.

This interweaving of connections includes the whole top level of the British ruling class. The government, Parliament, the Royal Palace and the Headquarters of the Federation of British Industries are connected by close class, business and blood ties.

War and the armaments race bring the capitalists especially great profits. "The golden rain," wrote V. I. Lenin, "flows directly into the pockets of the bourgeois politicians, who make up a closely knit international gang, instigating the peoples to competition in armaments..." (V. I. Lenin, Works, Volume 19, p 83)

Here are the facts. During World War II the profits of the British companies grew by 81 percent. Total profits of 18,100 million pounds sterling were made by the British capitalists between 1939 and 1945. In other words, during the seven years, the owners made more than 1,000 pounds sterling from the exploitation of each worker (there are 17 million workers in Great Britain). Between 1939 and 1945 the British Government spent 22,846 million pounds sterling for military purposes. Of this amount, more than 900 million pounds was spent to construct and equip war industry. The majority of the war plants, built with the people's money, were sold to the big monopolies after the war for almost nothing.

After World War II the British ruling circles did not plan to reorganize the economy on a peace-time basis. They wished to maintain, with the assistance of the armaments race, the high profit rate which they had during the war. One of the influential city organs, the Economist magazine, wrote frankly in 1950: "It would be a mistake to say that Great Britain now intends to return to a war economy, since she has actually never departed from the economy of the last war." Under the banner of preparation for "defense" from an imaginary "danger", allegedly from the Soviet Union, the militarization of the economy continues; industry has received war orders and new types of arms have been created. The government has not spared government funds for these purposes, funds collected from the population as taxes. During the first four years after World War II, war expenditures by the Exchequer were 4 billion pounds sterling, more than five times as much as expenditures during the four years before the war.

The Federation of British Industries is one of the main inspirers and organizers of the campaign to fan war hysteria and to force a conversion of the British economy to a wartime basis. The henchmen of the British monopolies in the governmental departments and in Parliament understand what is required of them. They zealously try to carry out the wishes of their masters. In August 1950 the Minister of Economic Affairs held a special meeting with representatives of the Federation of British Industries and the British Employers' Confederation and with the majority of the members of the General Council of the British Trades Union Congress; they discussed the problem of the effect of the government rearmament program on industry. After this meeting the militarization of the British economy developed on a wide scale.

In 1951 the British Government adopted a gigantic armaments program. Government military expenditures were first set at 3.6 billion pounds sterling for the following three years, but then were increased to 4.7 billion pounds sterling. A government review of the economic outlook for 1951 stated: "Implementation of the greatly expanded and accelerated armaments program has now become the primary aim of the government's economic policy."

The magnates of British big capital and their cohorts in the government did not conceal the fact that they intended to carry out the military-economic program at the expense of the workers. "We must cover the greater part of the rearmament expenditures," frankly states the economic review, "by putting off for some time (1) an increase in the standard of living and even by reducing the present level."

Great Britain is spending billions of pounds sterling on war preparations. These huge funds, collected from the British people, are moving into the pockets of the armament factory owners as profits. In 1950, when war began in Korea, the profits of 877 companies publishing reports increased by 27 percent over the preceding year. Among them, the profits of 31 chemical companies increased by 52 percent, and those of 29 engine and aircraft companies increased by 55 percent. Income of rubber-processing companies increased by 250 percent.

The gross profits of three of the largest concerns in the Federation of British Industries increased by unprecedented amounts between 1949 and 1953. Profits of the Unilever Trade and Industrial Syndicate increased by 79 percent; those of the Royal Dutch Shell Petroleum concern increased by 84 percent; and those of the gigantic chemical association, Imperial Chemical Industries, increased by 104 percent. The head of the large Hawker Siddeley Aircraft Company, which belongs to the Federation, admitted that profits increased, during one year alone by 38.4 percent.

The largest British war industry monopoly, Vickers-Armstrong, Ltd., also a member of the Federation of British Industries, is earning huge profits. It manufactures and delivers warships, planes, tanks, submarines, instruments, ammunition, and other armaments and supplies. It has enterprises in almost all the heavy industries: shipbuilding, machinery, ferrous metallurgy, coal, petroleum, etc. This company has built war plants not only in Great Britain, but also in other countries such as Spain, Italy, Japan, and Turkey. Vickers-Armstrong Ltd. has branches, representatives and agents in many countries.

These monopolies do not scruple to use any means to obtain maximum profits. On the eve of World War I, the Vickers agent in Japan, who was trying to get an order for building a warship, admitted that he had bribed government officials. In 1933 the Vickers representative was expelled from Turkey. He was charged with bribery and espionage. In the same year this firm's agents in the Soviet Union were convicted of sabotage and espionage.

The representatives of the Vickers-Armstrong concern have their cohorts in the Government, and the Government sends representatives, especially military personnel, to hold leading posts in the concern. Thus, the Vickers representatives, Anderson and Craven, were appointed as Minister

of Defense and as Industrial Advisor to the Minister of Production. Lieutenant-General Weeks, who was chief of the Imperial General Staff during the war, now represents the concern. Among the Vickers-Armstrong directors are a major-general, a colonel and a lieutenant-colonel. Vicker's profits in 1953 reached 9.5 million pounds sterling.

The monopolies which are growing rich in the armaments race frequently use government funds to expand their enterprises. The following announcement by the president of the Guest, Keen and Nettlefolds Company illustrates this: "We were able to cooperate with the government departments in the campaign for rearmament. This applies not only to production capacities in the existing plants and to existing equipment, but in some cases also to considerable programs undertaken at the request of the government and mainly at its expense!", i.e., at the expense of the British taxpayer.

The greediness of the capitalist beasts of prey in their unrestrained striving for high profits knows no limit. The imperialists are ready to trade with the lives of their compatriots in the pursuit of profits. They do not even consider it always necessary to conceal this from the public. Thus, one of the Conservative members of Parliament, a certain Fletcher, director of a firm dealing in rubber, announced one time: "I must admit that I have commercial interests in many parts of the Far East, especially in Indo-China... It is possible that some capital investments on our part, visible capital investments in the form of troops and arms, such as America is making in Indo-China, could result in good dividends."

It is not surprising therefore, that the monopolists and stock brokers do not wish the establishment of normal relations between governments or that they fear a lessening of international tension. When negotiations to stop military operations in Korea began, the organ of the London City financial bosses, Stock Exchange Gazette, wrote anxiously: "Peace presents no less serious problems than war... Defense production in the United States and Great Britain, which, to a considerable degree has been adjusted to the national production efforts, cannot be stopped abruptly."

In 1955 Great Britain spent almost 10 times as much for military purposes than she spent before World War II. Military appropriations comprised 33 percent of the 1955-1956 budget. This brought the arms manufacturers more profits, even higher than during the previous years. It was not for nothing that Strachey, of the Labour Party, during the debate in the House of Commons on 2 March 1955 on armament, declared that "The White Paper (i.e., official plans - P. S.) on defense and the planned appropriations, as formerly, is written by the owners of the war plants and by big capital." There is no reason not to believe Strachey's statement. Who would know better than Strachey that this was correct; he was Secretary of State for War in Attlee's Government.

Recently work on the production of atomic and hydrogen armaments caused much trading in stocks in monopolist circles. This new branch of the war industry promises colossal profits for them. Since 1945 more than 100 million pounds sterling have already been spent on the production of atomic bombs. Now measures are being implemented to expand the production of mass annihilation weapons. According to the newspaper, Financial Times, 180 British firms were working in the atomic energy field in 1955 and some of them are already making deliveries.

A special state corporation was established to produce atomic arms. This corporation is headed by the same representatives of big capital who belong to the Federation of British Industries. Plowden, who headed the Ministry of Aircraft Production during the war and was director of Commercial Union Assurance Company and British Aluminium Co. Ltd., was appointed President of this corporation. The corporation's board includes such big business men as Stedeford, the president of Tube Investments, Ltd. Governmental control over the corporation's activity was assigned to Lord Salisbury, former director of the Westminster Bank, i.e., again a representative of the Federation of British Industries.

The British Government's decision to produce hydrogen bombs in Great Britain aroused general indignation and criticism among great numbers of the English people. The Daily Worker printed a number of statements by prominent British public and scientific figures relating to this decision. Dr. Hewlett Johnson, the Archbishop of Canterbury, said: "Production of the hydrogen bomb in England cannot lead to peace. It is suicide." Nobel prize winner, Dr. Synge[?, transliterated from Russian] stated the opinion that "the announcement in the White Paper in no way promotes peace. Without a doubt the time has come for all countries to outlaw the hydrogen bomb." Another Nobel prize winner, former General Director of the UN Food and Agriculture Organization, Lord Boyd Orr, shares this opinion: "All countries must find ways not only to outlaw the bomb, but also to outlaw war, in order to ensure security."

The armaments race is a heavy burden for the British workers. In 1954 per capita taxes increased by more than 12 percent over 1950. Prices of food, clothing and fuel are rising steadily and the costs of public services and all types of transportation are growing. During 10 postwar years the food price index grew 50-150 percent. According to official data, the cost of living in Great Britain in January 1955 was almost 50 percent greater than in 1947.

The British people are conducting a stubborn fight against the attack by the capitalists on their vital rights and against preparations for a new war. The number of strikes in Great Britain increased from 2,424 in 1955 to 2,643 in 1956. This year was marked by the strike of locomotive engineers and stokers, which, according to the British press, was the most serious strike since the 1926 general strike. Under great

pressure from the organized laboring class, the Federation of British Industries and the British Employers' Confederation have been compelled, in a number of cases, to make concessions to the strikers and to agree to the workers' most urgent demands. This shows the workers that despite all the power of the monopolies and the strength of the government machine of the capitalists, despite the fact that they have a vast amount of capital and have the army and police at their disposal, despite all this, the British laboring class is many times stronger than the capitalists when it acts in a fraternal, cohesive and organized fashion.

The manufacturers, bankers, merchants, stock brokers and retired generals, all those who sit on the Grand Council of the Federation of British Industries, cannot help but feel that capitalism's position is weakening with every day. Militarization of the economy and its one-sided military development cannot save the capitalist economy from crises; it only leads to the development of even deeper contradictions.

...During recent years, despite the opposition of the aggressive forces, the peoples have succeeded in having international tension somewhat lessened. Increasingly favorable prospects have been created for the consolidation of universal peace. However, in capitalist countries furious activity has developed in the aggressive circles which fear a reduction of tension in relations among states and are interested in continuing the armaments race and in becoming wealthier through war orders. They are stubbornly opposing the people's demands to reduce armaments and the armed forces and to outlaw atomic and hydrogen weapons. They do not even hesitate, as events in the Near East showed, to unleash wars.

The activity of the Federation of British Industries clearly shows this role of the oligarchy of British financial capital, which is harmful to peace and to the interests of the workers.

The Intelligence Service Man

A. Leonidov

I

The following appears in the British biographical manual: General Lord Ismay, Baron, born in 1887, was Secretary General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and Vice-Chairman of the North Atlantic Council, former Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, former Chief of Staff to British Viceroy in India, chief of Churchill's personal staff during World War II, former Secretary of the Committee of Imperial Defense.

The ordinary Londoner can hardly say more than two or three words about this Lord; little is written about him.

What kind of person is this 70-year old General, whose name became known to the general public only comparatively recently although he plays a not unimportant role in Great Britain's international affairs and in the military preparations of the Western powers?

This question can be answered by four words: the Intelligence Serviceman.

Ismay is one of the chief leaders of this secret military and political organization which, as an important weapon of British big capital, stands invisibly behind every British Government - Conservative, Labour or Liberal. Ismay came from the womb of ancient British imperialism, which formerly imposed its will on the capitalist world. This is his strength and his weakness.

Lord Ismay is known as a quiet, equable, almost imperturbable man. He seldom raises his voice. But when, with a somewhat ironic expression, he does this, his British colleagues, as a rule, become silent. He does not need to shout or argue. He speaks a few words and they obey him. Ismay is not a talented orator; he does not need to be. He never speaks at party meetings. For him, all three bourgeois British parties are political agents of the ruling class; each has its time and place. He dines with a Conservative noble, smiles at a Liberal Minister, and affably, although somewhat arrogantly, greets the gentlemen from the Right Labour bench. All these people are his friends, allies, and sometimes his direct assistants.

"If you know General Ismay," wrote a correspondent of the Reuters Agency in February 1945, "then you cannot be surprised by the fact that he is a prominent figure even among the prominent statesmen of the world. He is actually a considerable personality... Considering General Ismay's prominent situation, it should be noted that he has made an art of the

ability to make himself inconspicuous. In the very best society he stands out because of his splendid build, the carriage of a good sportsman and a typical professional British soldier... At the same time the General avoids attracting attention and does not like publicity."

Ismay has never voted in Parliament; this would be a sheer waste of time. For him Parliament is a place for chattering, where the orators - Conservatives, Liberals, Labourites, gentlemen in suits or dinner jackets - make speeches for the people from previously harmonized notes.

The people, for Ismay, are only raw material, a gray mass of people obligated, in his opinion, to do one of two things: to work or to fight; to gain profits for the gentlemen or to die in their interests. The millions of British people - men and women loving life, peace, culture, their children, and their future - according to Ismay are either a certain amount of war material, living machines for operating dead machines - rifles, cannons, planes and battleships of the British Empire, or they are a mass of production material, muscular power for the machine tools which are owned by the joint-stock companies of the British Empire. Everything is quite simple. In the third place, for Ismay the people are an explosive political material dangerous to the British Empire, millions of friends of peace and progress who must be held in check by steel gloves. Here, of course, special watchfulness is required, and if necessary, ruthlessness.

This is the whole philosophy of British domestic policy from the point of view of General Lord Ismay. And its foreign policy, according to his conception, consists of one principal point, for which his organization exists: come what may and at any price, stop the decline of British imperialism, revive it and make it once again the master of the world as it was when the future General and Baron Ismay was born.

II

The father of the General-Baron, Sir Stanley Ismay, was General Inspector of Police and Prisons in one of the Indian provinces. He wrote a book, Rules for Supervising and Managing Prisons in the Central Province, a "profound" work which hundreds of English administrators and rulers in India studied. He was one of those masters of British police business of whom the troubadour of British imperialism, Kipling, sang in the novel, "Kim." Here are to be found the roots of his son's career. Later Sir Stanley Ismay rose to the rank of Governor of one of the Indian provinces and member of the Legislative Council under the English Viceroy.

At that time India was not only the heart of the British Empire, but also the higher school for British politicians, officials and military personnel. Here they learned to command, to rob, to intrigue and to execute people; they studied at the very "highest", "academic" level. It would not be an exaggeration to say that British industrial and financial

capitalism was built on the bones of the Indian peasants. But it is also true that the reactionary British militarists of the 20th century grew, above all, out of the old Anglo-Indian Army and that the most experienced personnel of the Intelligence Service "perfected themselves" in India.

Over the course of two centuries, British capital pumped great funds, billion after billion, out of this huge country, almost equal in area and population to the European mainland. Select cadres of privileged British officers and officials were formed, educated and tempered here. In practice it meant more to be the governor of a large Indian province than to be a British Minister; it meant more to be a colonel in the Anglo-Indian Army than to be a general in a provincial English city.

According to a plan formulated at the end of the last century by the City and the Foreign Office, called the "Curzon plan" in enlightened circles, India was to become the center of an even greater British Empire in Asia. It was intended to join to this Empire Persia and Afghanistan in the West; Tibet, Sinkiang and Turkestan in the North; and the whole of Southern China, at least to the Yangtse River, in the East. It was also intended to attach the British domains in Burma, Malaya and Arabia to it. Such a British super-empire, planned in London, comprising the whole fertile south of Asia, bounded by British Africa from the Cape to Cairo on the one hand, and by Australia on the other hand, gripping the whole area from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean in a steel semicircle, was intended by its authors to make the world domination of British capitalism permanent rapidly reducing all the remaining great powers to the situation of second-rate and dependent states.

British diplomacy worked for decades to realize this plan. Its chief weapon, in addition to the British fleet which ruled the world sea routes, was the tactic of constantly setting one power against another, in order to keep the keys of international politics in British hands. It was intended to use the Anglo-Indian Army and Intelligence Service not only to keep the 400 million Indian people obedient, but also to subjugate the neighboring Asiatic countries.

Ismay devoted the first half of his life completely to the "Curzon Plan." Then, it is true, he was only one of many; he was attending school. In 1908 this son of the great Anglo-Indian policeman and prison keeper became an officer in a cavalry regiment quartered in the North-West Frontier region of India. This was an extremely vital section of the British position - from here they annually attacked the neighboring Moslem tribes, burning village after village and hanging thousands of people.

Ismay watched, learned and gained "experience." Even in those years, in his early youth, he absorbed the feeling which was "quite obligatory" for each guardian of British imperialism in the East, the feeling of scorn

for the "colored man," the slave of the British sahib (white lord). Later, when the socialist revolution burst out in Russia, this feeling of Ismay's merged with a hatred for socialist Russia, which became a beacon for all the Asian workers who did not wish to serve the sahibs any longer. The pure-blooded Sahib, Ismay, remembered this fact for his whole life. Thus his political personality was finally set.

He was not a dashing cavalry warrior. Ismay early showed that he was a worthy son of his father and that his chief strength was the art of secret political intrigue. This was appreciated by his superiors. They did not permit him to participate in World War I in Europe and sent him for further training to the British African Colony of Somaliland where, for six years, he hunted down and persecuted the impoverished blacks who rebelled against their British masters. His African experience supplemented his practice in Asia. In 1923 Ismay was already Assistant Quartermaster General of the Anglo-Indian Army. Three years later, at the age of 39, already with the rank of Major, he was called to London. His training was complete. The Center of the Intelligence Service needed Ismay for "big" things.

III

In 1904 the whole secret system of administering British policy was reorganized. At the initiative of Prime Minister Balfour and the big financier, Lord Asher, the Committee of Imperial Defense was established; to a considerable degree it actually replaced the government but was free of any responsibility to Parliament.

Officially, this Committee, with the rights of a consultative body to the government, was entrusted with the long-term planning of British foreign and military policy. In reality, decisions were made by its advisors and planners: their decrees were binding on the whole government apparatus, although the public and even the House of Commons was not informed of them. Who belonged to the Committee? The Prime Minister, some other ministers, the chiefs of staff of the Army and Navy (later also of Air), the chief official of the treasury, heading the civil administration. The permanent secretary of the Committee and also the heads of all divisions were almost all unknown Intelligence Service personnel.

British governments came and went. Conservatives replaced Liberals and Liberals, Conservatives; later the Liberals were replaced by Labourites. But the permanent officials of the Committee of Imperial Defense remained. Each new government presented its special, new program. And each "new" program was carried out by the same people.

For 27 years, from 1912 to 1938, the Secretary of the Committee of Imperial Defense was Colonel Maurice Hankey. His name almost never appeared in the newspapers. The ordinary Englishman simply did not know about him. Hankey did not even obtain the rank of general. He came into the Committee of Imperial Defense directly from the Naval Intelligence

Department. Hankey was not only Secretary of the Committee; he combined this position with the position of Secretary of the Council of Ministers and with the rank of clerk of the King's Privy Council. He attended almost all international and imperial conferences as the Secretary of the British delegation. Balfour, Campbell-Bannerman, Asquith, Lloyd George, Baldwin, MacDonald, and Chamberlain sat in the House of Commons as British Prime Ministers, gave noisy speeches, denounced each other, won elections, suffered defeats and retired. Little Colonel Hankey quietly sat in his place in the restricted Committee and acted without fearing the House of Commons, the House of Lords or the voters. That was the heart of the matter.

The establishment of the Committee of Imperial Defense was one of the "small" changes in the British "democratic" structure brought about by capital, fearing the growth of the mass worker movement. No matter who headed the British "democracy" externally, all those people from the City and the Intelligence Service always ruled it from within.

In 1926 Colonel Hankey called in a new assistant from India, Major Ismay. The future Lord worked on the Committee of Imperial Defense for 15 years, under the Conservatives, Baldwin, Chamberlain and Churchill, and the Labourites, MacDonald and Attlee. During the entire period from 1926 to 1946 he was assigned elsewhere only twice. In 1931 he was appointed Military Secretary to the Viceroy of India, Lord Wellington, to help him quell the rising national liberation movement in India. Ismay was already a specialist in this matter. The sahibs started making mass arrests and raids. They established an unbearable regime in India. Almost all the leaders of the national movement, headed by Mahatma Gandhi, were thrown into prison. The police shot people at demonstrations, set Moslem against Hindu and Hindu against Moslem. Thinking that he had completed his task and had the Indian people intimidated for the next few decades, Ismay returned to London and immediately, already a Colonel, received new, even more important instructions. In 1933, during the time that Hitler was coming to power in Germany, Ismay was appointed Chief of the Eastern Department of the British Intelligence Service.

This was the most important division of the Intelligence Service. Its sphere of action included not only India, the Far East, and the Near East, but also the Soviet Union, Poland and the Baltic area. The main task of the chief of this division was the secret encirclement of the Soviet Union and subversive work on its very territory. Ismay earned the nickname of "Pug" for this work. He had a whole army of agents operating under widely differing masks from diplomats, journalists and "business men" to "engineers" and Catholic priests. "Pugs" secret agents operated in the capitals of all the states bordering the USSR, and were either included directly on the embassy staffs or appeared as representatives of business firms, charitable organizations or press bureaus.

The Colonel of the British Colonial Army in India transferred his methods to Europe, utilizing local conditions. In India he worked with horse herders, dancers and police disguised as fakirs; here he bribed false "labor leaders" and members of parliament. It was all one and the same to him; Ismay is not a romanticist. It was under him and his closest successors that the Eastern Division of the Intelligence Service worked out the full ramifications of that international system of secret sabotage against the socialist camp which exists to this very day.

In 1936 Ismay returned to the Committee of Imperial Defense completely "matured." Now he was no longer assistant, but deputy to Hankey. On the eve of the war, in 1939, the little known Colonel Hankey was made a Lord and then suddenly appointed a member of Chamberlain's war cabinet. The British public was surprised; the initiates smirked. Ismay, a Major General by then, replaced his chief in the Committee of Imperial Defense.

IV

Even before the war Ismay implemented the policy which he had once learned in India in this Committee; he knew nothing else and did not wish to know anything else. The main aim of this policy was to strengthen and enlarge the empire of British sahibs. Its main enemy was the Soviet workers and peasants, 200 million people between the Baltic Sea and the Pacific Ocean, who had overthrown their masters and embraced socialism as the basis of their life and who were setting an example for the whole world. Enemy No. 2 was the colored man, breaking the fetters placed on him by white capital, more than a billion people recognizing no empire and demanding freedom and independence.

Working behind the scenes in Chamberlain's government, Ismay concentrated all his efforts on creating an international anti-Soviet bloc. Along with Hankey he was one of the authors of the Chamberlain plan, to encourage Hitler and set him against the Soviet Union. This plan intended to buy the German Fascists, to help them arm, to throw them against Moscow, to force the Soviet and German people to make blood run in a gigantic battle, and then to seize their riches. It seemed to Ismay that Chamberlain's card could not be covered. He already anticipated the day when British troops, as "restorers of order" would again invade the Caucasus and Soviet Central Asia and remain there permanently. Preparing these wild plans, Ismay and his friends failed to notice only one thing. By entering into an agreement with Hitler against the Soviet Union they pushed Great Britain to the edge of destruction. This became clear to the British people, but did not stop Ismay and his friends.

After the rout of the British Army at Dunkirk, Ismay became Chief of Staff to British Ministry of Defence, while remaining essentially the head of the Committee of Imperial Defense, which was changed into the government's war office.

According to his own statement, his tasks during the war were strategy and planning, the organization of military and civil defense, censorship, military legislation and the organization of supply. Prime Minister Churchill described Ismay's functions at that time somewhat more fully. "General Ismay," he stated, "represents me on the Commission of Chiefs of General Staffs and is responsible for informing the military command and myself on all questions requiring a decision at the top." Many questions required a "decision at the top," including basic problems of British foreign policy.

The General always accompanied the Prime Minister, in London, in Washington, in Quebec, in Casablanca, and in Cairo. The Prime Minister gave a command, Ismay formulated the orders. They called him "Winston's Grey Cardinal." It cannot be doubted that the intelligence serviceman had his hand in the attempts by the British reactionaries during the last years of the war to make a secret agreement with the German Fascists to open the Western Front to Anglo-American troops and to keep the Soviet Army from entering Germany.

Ismay forgot nothing. This dry, silent man never deviated from his basic intention. Although every Englishman, even including Ismay himself, saw clearly that the Soviet Union was helping Great Britain avoid defeat, Ismay even then thought only of how to deceive and encircle the Soviet Union. His class nature continued to push him along a path which was harmful to the national interests of his country.

The war ended. The Conservative Government was overthrown. Twelve million Britishers voted against the Conservatives. The right-wing Labourite, Alexander, became Minister of Defence. This changed nothing for Ismay; he remained as Chief of Staff under Alexander. Only after two years, having received an urgent assignment, did he abandon this post; the Intelligence Service again sent him where he began his career. The storm was mounting in India. The Indian workers and peasants were breaking their chains and now the British policemen and prison keepers could do nothing; it was impossible to seize all the Indians. But it was possible to try and deceive them.

Ismay was appointed Chief of Staff to the last British Viceroy in India, Lord Mountbatten. He did his business. Along with Mountbatten, Ismay conducted a reform in India along the lines of the old rule: divide and conquer. The country was divided into two parts. The intention was to push one away from the other.

Ismay thought that he had won this time as he had won during his mission to India in 1931-1933. It was even intended that he become Viceroy in India after Mountbatten. But he lost. Despite the "skillful" division of India, the British colonial system in Asia after World War II was broken forever. The powerful growth of the national liberation

movement among the peoples of Asia negated all the plans of the old intelligence worker. Now nothing could force the ordinary Indian worker or peasant to be afraid of the likes of Ismay, still mentally living in the age of Kipling. India, as other countries on this continent, went its own way. A new system of independent Asiatic peoples developed where the colonizers formerly ruled. The political agents of the Intelligence Service, both with and without masks, still tried to postpone the outcome. But their card was covered.

Ismay did not become the Viceroy of India, and returned to London. The Labour Government made him a Lord in 1947. He was then 60 years old. The Intelligence Service offered him a temporary rest. Ismay accepted the offer - it was necessary to collect his forces. He has been in retirement for four years, supported by those whom the Intelligence Service actually serves, the British monopolies.

V

Immediately after World War II it was possible to observe a remarkable event in Great Britain; almost all the well-known generals and field marshalls who had retired, one after the other became bankers, manufacturers, and big merchants. The day after taking off their uniforms, they sat on the boards of some joint stock company, controlling hundreds of millions of pounds sterling.

The Chief of the Imperial General Staff and Commander-in-Chief of British Land Forces, Field-Marshal Lord Alanbrooke became Director of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. and of the largest bank in the country, the Midland Bank. The Commander-in-Chief of the Mediterranean Fleet, Admiral Cunningham, was elected Chairman of the Board of the Iraq Oil Co.; the Commander-in-Chief of Air Forces, Air Marshal Lord Portal, became Director of Barclay's Bank and of the British branch of the Ford Company. The Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army, Field-Marshal Auchinleck was appointed Director of the Anglo-Indian Grindlay's Bank; the Assistant Chief of the Imperial General Staff, General Weeks, obtained the post of Chairman of the Board of Vickers, that war industry monopoly; Chief Air Marshal Salmond became Director of the Shell Oil Trust. Ismay's predecessor as Secretary of the Committee of Imperial Defense, the aging Lord Hankey, obtained the posts of Director of the Suez Canal Company, the Nile Insurance Company in Cairo, and the Jorehaut Tea Company in India.

This list could fill more than one page. The highest military caste of the British Empire has quite openly merged with the highest plutocratic aristocracy, on which it depended fully while still in active service. Now, having retired, the members of this cast have not been shy about taking off their masks. The organizers of war have shown themselves to be the companions of the merchants in oil, automobiles, currency, artificial silk, tea, whatever is convenient.

Ismay did not go into retirement; he has been biding his time. But the big British monopolists, the true masters of the country, have not forgotten one of the most experienced leaders of the Intelligence Service. Ismay was offered the post of Director of Lloyd's Bank, an enterprise with working capital of at least 1.25 billion pounds sterling.

The threads of this financial group entwine through all the corners of British capitalist society. It is primarily the bank of heavy industry and the monetary bulwark of British reaction. In recent years its directors have included such big shots as Sir Peter Bennett, head of the largest war electrical concern, Joseph Lucas, Ltd., member of the board of the Imperial Chemical Trust, and in 1951, Deputy Minister of Labour and National Service; Colonel Neilson, Director of Vickers; Lord Brand and his son, Thomas Brand, partners in the well-known London banking house, Lazard Brothers, affiliated with the Astor dynasty and with the Times, and which financed Chamberlain's "Cliveden Clique"; Lord Luke, owner of the Bovril Bouillon Trust and the Truth magazine; Lord Ramsden, Director of a number of metallurgy enterprises and also the former Chairman of the Conservative Party; Sir Evan Williams, Life President of the Mining Association of Great Britain; and others. Also, the old Liberal leaders, Lord Teviot and Egbert Cadbury (who is also the head of a cocoa and chocolate trust and co-owner of the News Chronicle); former member of the Labour Government's State Planning Administration, aircraft monopolist, Verdon Smith; former Chief of "Combined Operations" of the British Army, General Laycock; and finally, at least three former Anglo-Indian governors and ministers - Lord Scarbrough, Burrows, and Raisman, have also sat on the board of Lloyd's Bank.

Lloyd's Bank is, so to speak, a stronghold, a holy of holies of British monopolistic capital; to be its director means being one of the real owners of the country.

Ismay became a director of this bank. The veteran of the Intelligence Service received his reward. Now he himself has become one of the partners in the "British Empire" concern. The British monopolies do not forget those who serve them faithfully.

VI

But Ismay's service was not yet finished.

On 26 October 1951, the leader of the British Conservatives, having beaten the Labour Party in the elections, was called to the Royal Palace and received instructions to form a new government. One of the first he called was General Lord Ismay. After a few days Great Britain read the list of the 17 new cabinet members. Ismay was appointed Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, in other words, minister of dominions.

How could Great Britain's international position be consolidated? This was the problem facing the new government. The Labour cabinet, which ruled Great Britain for six years, had continued the old, prewar Conservative policy - a policy aimed against the Soviet Union, against the colonial and dependent peoples, and now also against the people's democracies. Formerly this policy had been based mainly on the agreement with Hitler. It led Great Britain to the brink of destruction. All who wished to deceive the Soviet Union were deceived themselves by German Fascism. Now the same policy, directed against the USSR, has been based on an agreement with American imperialism and the German desire for revenge.

American trusts had already become masters in various parts of Britannia, taking its natural riches. American capital had clearly been striving to squeeze the British economy within its grip. American diplomacy had rudely thrust its will upon the British Empire, once the proudest and most arrogant in Europe. A gloomy future was facing Great Britain -- that of becoming one of the chief American atomic bases against the USSR.

Where to go from here?

The Ismay's had an answer ready -- the way they had been going -- with the Atlantic Union headed by Washington.

Ismay remained Ismay. And now, almost 50 years after the beginning of his political activity, the man from the Intelligence Service saw before him only one purpose, one task: to exterminate the Soviet Socialist State in whatever way possible, to strangle the national liberation movement in Asia and Africa. The son of the prison keeper had not betrayed his ideal. The American pretender to world domination stood at the British gates with an even bigger crow-bar in his hands than his German predecessor had. But Ismay still gave the same advice: bargain with the US for a while, work Great Britain up into the role of chief apprentice, and, with their help, we will seize and imprison half of mankind. Consumed with class hatred, Ismay was again working against the national interests of Great Britain.

In order to conclude this transaction, in 1952 he transferred his headquarters into the very center of the Anglo-American bloc. Ismay was appointed General Secretary of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and Vice-President of this Organization's Council. Upon taking on this job, he said on 22 July 1952: "Now I must consider myself as not having a country, and in the future I am not an Englishman."

The man from the Intelligence Service supposed that as head of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization he would serve the interests of the British Empire as in the past. He took his new post with the conviction

that he would at least secure for Great Britain the position of chief contractor for the United States in Western Europe, and then go even further: make Great Britain the true head of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization on the continent of Europe. It was for this reason that "Pug" repudiated his country; he thought that it would be craftier.

Ismay aspired to be field marshal of a new campaign against the socialist world. In February 1951 he stated that a state of war exists between the "free world" and Communism. Even now Ismay behaves like the commander of a real army. He travels about Western Europe from capital to capital demanding a quicker coordination of the armed forces of the "Atlantic coalition."

In November 1952 Ismay proposed that a connection be established between the Atlantic Treaty Organization and a new military bloc planned by the American imperialists for the Pacific area. He wished to squeeze both Europe and Asia in the pincers. In May 1953 he flew to Ankara to speed the conclusion of a military pact between Turkey and Greece and thus draw the Near East into "his" net. In November 1953 he was observing military maneuvers of British, Canadian, Dutch and Danish troops near Bremen, where a German base is being prepared. Then he gave an anti-Soviet speech in Brussels, demanding immediate ratification of the "European Defense Community" Agreement and inclusion of West German armed forces in the "European army." Ismay already saw the trenches of World War III, and himself on the staff of the supreme command.

But it was not for this that they created NATO in Washington, i.e., that an Englishman rule this organization. The Americans, with inconspicuous pressure, have succeeded in retiring Ismay and filling the post of NATO General Secretary with a man devoted to them body and soul, Spaak. Now even this position is in the past for Ismay.

The years pass by and the world is changing. Only Ismay and his friends from the Intelligence Service do not change.

Ismay incarnates the whole policy, the whole psychology of British imperialism. Ismay's face is the face of Palmerston, Disraeli, Curzon, Chamberlain and other arms-bearers of British capitalism. It has nothing in common with the British people. The Great Britain of the workers, farmers, and working intelligentsia is against him and such as he.

Agent of the International of Death

A. Leonidov

I

A merchant of death is not only a person who sells rifles, machine guns, tanks, submarines and atomic bombs. In the West this job has many aspects. It includes many people who have no direct connection with war industry.

Each of them wears some kind of mask. Sometimes the merchant of death is a well-known professor. He lectures on physics and also is a consultant to a joint-stock company interested in producing the atomic bomb. Frequently he is a well-known journalist writing articles, paid for by the publicity division of the Dupont trust or the Vickers firm, for a large newspaper published in some capital. Sometimes the merchant of death is a bishop. In the daytime, in the pulpit, he gives touching sermons on love and peace, but in the evening he clips coupons from the shares of a gun factory. And sometimes he is a government official of a Western power, showered with honors and orders. With inspiration and brilliancy he speaks at international conferences on disarmament, but in his office he regularly signs contracts for massive deliveries of armaments from a firm in which he or his family is an invisible partner.

All these people enjoy irreproachable reputations in bourgeois society. And they all live mainly on the interest from past, present, and future wars. This is the secret meaning of their existence.

Oliver Lyttelton is a very versatile man. He was British Secretary of State for Colonies, the main organizer of hunts after African Negroes. At his instructions they were executed wholesale at the rate of 100 persons a week. He considers himself and those like him the mainstay of British order and tranquility. Everything new is very offensive to Lyttelton and makes him fearful and bitter.

Before his entry into the Government and after his retirement Lyttelton was head of the British trust, Associated Electrical Industry, closely affiliated with the Vickers concern. It is precisely here that his chief, fundamental quality, from which everything else flows, is hidden. Here, in the offices of this trust which participates in the production of atomic energy in Great Britain, that Oliver Lyttelton's real life takes place. He is a merchant of death on the very largest international scale and belongs in the secret circle of atomic monopolists; he is one of those of whom there are only a handful in the whole capitalist world. The success of his business depends mainly on how many people will be killed by the weapons and equipment delivered by his firm and its allies. The more deaths, the greater the dividends.

This is why they regard him with such respect in the capitalist circles of the West.

II

Lyttelton's career was set even before his birth. His father was also one of the leaders of the rightist camp and was also Secretary of State for Colonies. Hereditary succession is very highly valued in British ruling circles. The old Lyttelton, nephew of the well-known Liberal leader, Gladstone, whom he deserted for the Conservatives, was famous as a cricket virtuoso. In addition, he was distinguished by the fact that, as minister at the beginning of the century, he imported thousands of unfortunate, starving coolies from China to South Africa to reduce labor costs for British gold mine owners. At that time the Negroes were still cooped up in the depths of the country in their villages. While the elder Lyttelton played cricket and helped rule the British Empire, the younger Lyttelton, moving among the golden youth, studied at aristocratic Eton and Cambridge University.

In 1920 the young Lyttelton settled down to "real" business. He began by trading and speculating in non-ferrous metals -- copper, zinc, nickel, lead, tin and other metals used mainly in the electrical industry and in war production. The most interesting thing about Lyttelton's affairs was discovered only after several years: he turned out to have German partners. The trade syndicate of British mine owners, British Metal Corporation, of which Lyttelton was chief manager, soon merged with Metallgesellschaft, the concern belonging to the Merton Brothers in Frankfurt-am-Main, thus monopolizing a considerable part of the international trade in non-ferrous metals. Sitting in London on the board of the new United Metal Corporation along with one of the Mertons, Lyttelton became at the same time director of the Frankfurt trust.

This meant a great deal. The affiliation with Metallgesellschaft immediately brought Lyttelton into the arena of international monopolies. It predetermined his foreign policy line. At the very beginning of his life he found powerful friends on the other side of the Rhine.

Things turned out in such a way that the chief shareholder in the Frankfurt metals trust after World War II was Germany's largest and all-powerful monopoly, the chemical trust, I. G. Farben. Along with the Ruhr steel kings Thyssen and Krupp, the chemical kings, Bosch and Schmitz were the true masters of the bourgeois German state and the chief promoters of German imperialism. All the German cabinet ministers since the 1920's, the German Army, the German intelligence service and the German bourgeois parties acted at their orders. The I. G. Farben trust at first affiliated itself with the German Liberals and immediately after their defeat began to finance Hitler. When the frenetic leader of the German Fascists came to power in 1933 Bosch and Schmitz stood behind him. This fact was also reflected behind the scenes in the making of British policy.

For 10 years, from 1929 to 1939, Lyttelton was the partner of Bosch and Schmitz in selling non-ferrous metals to electrical companies and war industry enterprises all over the world. He acquired a great deal of money in this way, multiplying the fortune left him by his father. But he was not only in commerce.

Externally he was an irreproachable English aristocrat, a society gentleman and a respectable City business man. Actually he was the emissary of the greatest Anglo-German monopolistic association, one of the secret representatives of I. G. Farben in London. From behind the scenes, along with other business men from this association, he tirelessly demanded "complete synchronization" (concurrence) of British and German foreign policies. There was talk of concluding an Anglo-German union for the most rapid possible organization of Hitler's campaign to the East, to Moscow!

At the time of Munich, Lyttelton was 46 years old. He was not yet even an ordinary member of the House of Commons. But among the heads of the Right-wing camp he was already considered a prominent figure behind whom the Anglo-German clique was hiding. When Hitler began World War II, turning not against Moscow but against Paris and London, Lyttelton was no less astounded than Chamberlain; his Frankfurt partners had let him down. They wanted everything that he had promised them in the East... and the British Empire also!

Full of patriotic indignation, Lyttelton asked for government service. His request was immediately granted. He received the position of Chief State Controller of Non-Ferrous Metals. Now he could himself fix the prices at which the government bought metals from his firm. A year later Lyttelton was elected to the House of Commons and immediately was appointed President of the Board of Trade. Now he dictated prices and signed contracts for the delivery, not only of non-ferrous metals, but also of all types of strategic raw materials. The beginning of a great political career was established.

In 1942 Lyttelton was appointed Minister of State, Middle East, and sent to Cairo. The non-ferrous metals king became the real dictator of Egypt. He organized pogroms in Palestine, set one Arab government against the other, and spread a political intelligence network throughout the Balkan area, giving it one order: do not act against Hitlerites, but against the national liberation movement.

After a year Lyttelton was again called to London and was appointed Minister of Production. His chief business in this position was the creation of the Anglo-American Combined Production and Resources Board, to which all the industry of both countries was subordinated. Acting through this Board, the American billionaire "partners" began to seize a place in the British economy. The Americans went where the Germans had not succeeded in sneaking in.

Three years later Lyttelton received his reward. They raised him almost to the very top of the pyramid of the international monopolies. He resigned from Churchill's Government, abandoning the post of President of Board of Trade and Minister of Production. The next day he sat in the armchair of the Chairman of the Board of Associated Electrical Industry. At one time Lyttelton had served the merchants of death, selling them raw material. Now he himself had become one of them.

III

Three firms have been supreme during recent decades in the immense armaments market in Western Europe: the Vickers trust in Great Britain, Schneider-Creusot in France and Krupp in Germany. After World War II Schneider had to begin at the beginning. Krupp was put out of action for a while. Then the Americans put Krupp on his feet, but the battlefield remained to Vickers.

Today this is doubtless the largest private producer of conventional armaments in Western Europe. Millions of people were killed by this concern's death-dealing production. Its plants are located not only in various English cities, but also in Spain, Italy, Ireland, Australia, Canada, Pakistan, the Union of South Africa, and even in Japan; they existed also in Czarist Russia (Aktsionernoye Obshchestvo Nikolayevskikh Zavodov i Verfey), in Turkey, Rumania, Sweden, etc. During the past 60 years there has been hardly any war conflagration in Europe or elsewhere in which Vickers was not directly or indirectly concerned. The firm delivered arms for both world wars, set the Balkan countries to fighting among themselves, participated in all the anti-Soviet plots and interventions, financed the Hitler organization in Great Britain, and did not disdain to set armed conflicts aflame in corner of South America or in the mountains of Asia.

Its agents operate tirelessly in the capitalist countries, even the smallest. Some of them are well-known politicians; others are journalists, bankers, lawyers; still others are shady business men or adventurers. Wherever you smell gunpowder, look for the Vickers man nearby. Wherever it is quiet, another man sent by this firm is already at work.

During World War II and before it, one of these agents was the notorious Sir Basil Zaharoff, a Greek. He was born in Turkey, married a Spanish duchess, became a nobleman in Great Britain and lived in France. The newspapers called him "the mystery man of Europe." Zaharoff was a close friend and adviser to the British Prime Minister, Lloyd George and the French premiers, Clemenceau and Briand. Clemenceau's son was a sales representative of the Vickers firm in Paris. During the years preceding World War II many prominent members of the British Government were stock-holders, as for example, Hailsham, Secretary of State for War, Lord Swinton, Secretary of State for Air, Lord Horne, Chancellor or the Exchequer, Gilmour, Secretary of State for

the Home Department, etc. Many British generals and admirals depend on this trust by tradition, particularly those of them which deal with the military construction and supply of the British Army and Navy.

The Vickers concern is closely affiliated with the top echelon of the reactionary camp in Great Britain. It is for this reason that the Right-wing Labour Government did not succeed in nationalizing the Vickers trust in its time. To do this would have meant causing a kind of political revolution in Great Britain.

Lord Waverly, former Home Secretary, is one of the directors of the concern; he is also director of the Imperial Chemical Industries Trust. Thus there is a direct affiliation between two gigantic British war monopolies. Another director of Vickers is Colonel Maxwell, son-in-law of the late Conservative Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Austen Chamberlain, the target of numerous caricatures in the 1920's.

Not long ago the Vickers concern was headed by Lieutenant-General Weeks, who was Chief of the Supply Department of the British Army during World War II. Another member of the board, a certain Vivian Smith, is no less interesting. He is just a little higher than the generals and ministers: he is manager of the London branch of the New York Morgan Bank.

Vickers is the British branch of a peculiar internationale of merchants of death. It is affiliated with the American war industry monopolies, General Motors and General Electric, with the French Schneider concern, with the German Krupp firm, and with suppliers of arms in all capitalist countries. The North Atlantic Union, the Western European Union, and the aggressive pacts in other parts of the world are, in many respects, political masks for this secret internationale.

This is the circle that Mr. Oliver Lyttelton joined after World War II.

For a long time the Vickers concern has had a special daughter company to which all of its electrical enterprises were assigned. Until 1929 this company was called Metro-Vickers. Many remember it for the celebrated espionage affair uncovered in Moscow in 1933. Afterwards this name was only used for one of the branches and the main enterprise was renamed Associated Electrical Industries. At the same time, along this line, Vickers entered into a close affiliation with the American Morgan electrical trust, General Electric Company.

We present all these details to show what Lyttelton, the butcher of Negroes and Malaysians, actually represents.

IV

Having formed a new government in 1951, the big monopoly circles could not get along without a man such as Lyttelton. The Vickers agent had to become a member of the Cabinet. But Lyttelton's government appointment was not due solely to his place in the circles of the war manufacturers. A considerable role was also played by another special circumstance which the general British public has already begun to forget, but which the ruling circles remember well. It was a matter of Lyttelton's affiliations with the most powerful British colonial trusts, the pillars of the British Empire. These affiliations, established during that period of his life when he was still "non-ferrous metals king", were never broken. This is why Lyttelton received the post of Secretary of State for the Colonies. He was given the most "critical" section, the so-called "black" and "yellow" affairs; in other words, hunting after Negroes and Malaysians.

The imperialists would have a hard time in finding a better candidate for this post. Lyttelton was the chief of those reactionary politicians in London whose personal fortune was based on the semi-slave labor of workers in the British mines in Southeast Asia and Africa. His career was built on this foundation; while working with Vickers he always remembered this. His opinions on the colonial question were set once and for all. For him the Negroes and Asiatics are not people, but super-cheap instruments. They do not have the right to think or to feel; their business is to work until they can work no longer. If black-skinned and yellow-skinned persons work 12-14 hours a day, receiving a handful of rice or beans for subsistence, and die from this work and "diet", this, from Lyttelton's point of view, is in the nature of things; profits pile up in London, "white civilization" flourishes, and they get rich. If the Negro and Asiatic workers become disturbed and demand more food, freedom and life for themselves, this is a "scandal" and "disgrace", and "impudent challenge" to civilization, and the Lytteltons are indignant. Then, in their opinion, the black and yellow people must be penned behind barbed wire or be hanged.

Such have been the fixed principles of the imperialists' colonial policy during the last two centuries. Using these principles, Lyttelton earned many millions. He knew his business.

On the eve of World War II Lyttelton was chairman or director of over 20 joint stock companies; 19 of them operated mines in various parts of the world. These enterprises included such extremely large British colonial monopolies as the Imperial Smelting Corporation, the Zinc Corporation, the Burma Corporation, the Broken Hill Company, etc.

Lyttelton was especially closely affiliated with two of the most important concerns of the Empire tin industry: the London Tin Corporation, owning mines in Malaya, Thailand, Burma and Nigeria, and the

British Tin Investment Corporation, owning stocks in many Malayan companies. When he received a government appointment in 1939, Lyttelton resigned from the boards of these monopolies, but kept their stock and continued to manage them through figureheads. For example, the chairman of the London Tin Corporation today is stock broker John Spens, who was Lyttelton's closest assistant in the Ministry of Production during the war. The British tin industry in Malaya until this day is mainly in the hands of Lyttelton's group. This fact is diligently concealed from the people by the British bourgeois press. It would not be suitable to mention that he in whose name the government of Great Britain conducts war against the Malayan people is the same person who is secretly robbing these people.

Two-fifths of all the tin and one-third of all the rubber produced in the capitalist world is obtained in Malaya. The British colonial pirates began to seize this country at the end of the 18th century when they "bought" Penang from one of the native island princes for 20 boxes of opium and an annual honorarium of 6,000 dollars. From this time on Malaya was a gold mine for British capital. Two-thirds of the peasants were driven from the land to clear a place for the British plantation owners and industrialists. Exports of Malayan rubber and tin, during one five-year period (1946-1950), gave Great Britain over a billion dollars, i.e., as much as she received from total exports of items of her own manufacture during 1947.

How was this billion obtained? By colonial robbery, organized by gentlemen of the Lyttelton type. The Malaysians who were driven from the land were forced to work in the mines and plantations for one-eighth to one-fifth the average pay of British workers. Women and children received one-third less than men. The workers in the British enterprises were given windowless cabins. Malayan hospitals were frequently overcrowded with people dying from hunger.

When the patience of the Malayan workers began to come to an end in 1948, the British government dissolved the All-Malayan Federation of Trade Unions and instituted a state of emergency" in the country. Mass arrests, round-ups and executions began. The British plantation owners lynched insubordinate workers. The people retaliated by creating partisan groups. Then half of the overseas British Army was thrown against Malaya. A colonial terror began and continued for about eight years. Even the Hitlerites could envy what took place in Malaya. Hundreds of thousands of people were imprisoned in settlements surrounded by barbed wire. By spring of 1954, 600,000 persons had been detained or arrested -- one-tenth of the whole population!

When these matters were being handled by the Rightist Labour ministers, Lyttelton, sitting in his usual elegant pose on his bench in the House of Commons, applauded his "political opponents" who were doing his

work for him. Then he himself began to organize the terror in Malaya, not stopping at anything. But his equanimity began to desert him. Malaya did not surrender. Lyttelton was astonished: neither gallows nor concentration camps were effective. Should the whole population be arrested? Lyttelton did not go as far as this idea but he was close to it. Half a year after his appointment as Secretary of State for the Colonies he was compelled to admit that the British authorities in Malaya, with his knowledge and permission, not only threatened the Malaysians with mass destruction of their crops, but actually destroyed them, using special chemicals.

V

Lyttelton inherited the war in Malaya from his predecessor. He started the war in Kenya himself. During three years of his stay in the position of British Secretary of State for Colonies he stirred up an explosion of insurrection throughout the African continent.

It would be difficult to count the number of capitalist enterprises in Africa in which the group of colonial magnates affiliated with Lyttelton is interested. From this group's point of view, Africa is not only the most important rear base for the British General Staff in Europe and Asia, but is also a gigantic inexhaustible depot of most valuable metals -- copper, chrome, wolfram, uranium, gold, aluminum, etc. -- for making the London shareholders rich. Africa supplies more than half of the tribute which Great Britain annually exacts from the colonial and semi-colonial peoples; in 1952, of a total 1,222,000,000 pounds sterling received in London from the British colonies, 621,000,000 came from Africa. In this respect the "black" continent has replaced India to a considerable degree for British capitalism.

Until recently no one could have been as easily and advantageously exploited by the Lytteltons as the African Negro. The Negro's labor was much cheaper than the Malayan's labor: he worked for one-twentieth to one-fortieth of the wages paid to a British worker; children received even less. In other words, this labor cost its British employers almost nothing. They forced the Negroes to work under any conditions. In the gold and coal mines of Southern Rhodesia they were compelled to work the rock with their bare hands. At the mines they were frequently kept in guarded closed camps, and were beaten with canes or birch rods for the slightest "offense". Thus the huge fortunes of the British reactionary politicians and business men were created.

What happened in Kenya? This is one of the most fertile territories in the African countries. Half of the best cultivated arable land in Kenya was seized by 3,000 British colonizers; about 5 million Negroes were chased into "reserves," for the most part located on poor land and in unhealthy areas. Forty percent of the Kikuyu tribe were turned into a landless proletariat, i.e., into farm hands and workers for the colonizers. The law in Kenya made it possible to force Negroes to do any work without remuneration for a period of 90 days each year. In many

places the white landowners compelled them to work without remuneration for half a year in return for the right to live on the land which at one time belonged to them. One of the leaders of the national liberation movement in Kenya said: "The white people taught us to close our eyes while praying; but hardly had we closed our eyes than they stole our land from us!"

Grumbling was forbidden. Kenya was administered by an autocrat -- a British Governor General. He had a "Legislative Council." Thirty thousand whites had 39 representatives in this Council, 115,000 Hindus and Arabs had 8 representatives, and 5,500,000 Negroes had 6 representatives, who were not elected, but appointed by the British from among native princes they had bribed. Until recently it was considered that the Negroes in Kenya had only three rights: to work, to pray, and to die. But during recent years the Negroes have stopped praying.

Trade unions were established in the country. A powerful organization arose -- the Kenya African Union. Masses of semi-slaves joined the movement. In 1952 the African Union sent Lyttelton a number of demands, chief among which were: just distribution of the land, establishment of equal wages for blacks and whites, cessation of all racial discrimination, freedom of action for trade unions, freedom of speech, assembly and press, and equal electoral rights for Negroes, Europeans and Asiatics. The Negroes demanded recognition as people.

Lyttelton considered that this was too much. How could such a scandal be allowed! The Secretary of State for Colonies immediately decided to conduct an experiment. Kenya must become an example for the whole of Africa. Declaring that there was an alleged secret terrorist society in the country, the "Mau-Mau", from which it was necessary to save the British Empire, a state of emergency was instituted in Kenya. Lyttelton came and announced: "Statements that greedy Europeans and Asiatics are oppressing Negroes are completely false." After this the Secretary went from words to deeds.

Negroes throughout the country were chased into concentration camps in which gallows were erected. Those accused of belonging to the "Mau-Mau" were hung or condemned to 24 blows with the whip. The whole region where the Kikuyu tribe was settled, 2,000 square miles in area, became a concentration camp. Livestock, the inhabitants' only source of livelihood, were taken from them. Their houses were destroyed. Punitive expeditions attacked the countryside. Unarmed Negroes were bombed from planes. Tens of thousands of people were seized. By the end of 1953, according to data of the British Government itself, 3,399 Negroes had been killed. During one week, at the beginning of April 1954, over 120 persons were killed. The leaders of the Kenya African Union, led by Jomo Kenyatta were imprisoned. The British arrested and detained over half a million Negroes. In order to guard the prisons and concentration camps, a whole army of prison keepers, 14,300, was mobilized.

"The experiment" in Kenya was conducted systematically day after day. Elegant, well-groomed gentlemen, sitting in the office of the British Secretary of State for Colonies, managed the whole affair. But what were the results of this experiment? The London newspaper, The Daily Mirror, came to the conclusion that Lyttelton "killed Kenya with his 'cure'". This is not true. Lyttelton could not kill all the Negroes as he could not arrest all the Malaysians. The result of what they did was stated by Labour Deputy Brockway, who called Lyttelton "the best recruiter for the 'Mau-Mau' Society." On 31 March 1956 the London magazine, New Statesman and Nation, stated: "In fact, history can say that despite the whole tragedy, the 'Mau-Mau' insurrection was the salvation of Kenya."

Speaking at the Royal Empire Society in February 1953, Lyttelton was forced to admit that he could not say how much time would be required to suppress the Negro movement. More than 3 years went by. Lyttelton still could not answer this question. He will never answer it.

The front of the national liberation movement in Africa is already spreading beyond Kenya's borders, enveloping Great Britain's neighboring possessions.

Founded by semi-slaves rising to struggle for freedom, this front is unconquerable.

No matter how much the Lytteltons fight against the national liberation movement, it is growing and becoming stronger. In the 20th century the peoples have turned out to be stronger than the colonizers and oppressors. Oliver Lyttelton's experience proved only one thing: an imperialist colonial policy, depending on its last, most desperate resort -- mass terror, is useless.

Lyttelton had to admit this fact himself. When, in July 1954, he announced in London that he was retiring from the position of Secretary of State for Colonies, his letter to the Prime Minister was published. Lyttelton stated that he was leaving the government for "personal reasons," since he wished "to return to private life." The hanger of Negroes and the murderer of Malaysians, acknowledged his bankruptcy. He could not force the colonial peoples to their knees.

After a few days it became clear to what "private life" Lyttelton was returning. He went to his old friends of the Vickers concern, on the board of the Associated Electrical Industries. "Private life" for this man is still trade in death. The organizer of colonial wars again changed to the role of behind-the-scenes organizer of a new world war.

This is what the business man from the London City has devoted the rest of his life to. This time he is playing his game not only against Malaysians and Kenyans, but also against all the peoples of the world,

including those people whom he fears most of all, the people of Great Britain. The British do not wish an atomic war from which their own country could suffer. It is hardly possible that the Lytteltons will succeed in conquering the British.

Field Marshal Montgomery's Obsession

A. Leonidov

Various types of mental disturbances are known. Among the more serious are, for example, persecution mania, megalomania, and mania for destruction. There are cases when a person is possessed by several such manias at once, in an especially severe form. Then the illness takes a serious turn; the patient becomes violent and either attacks people or commits suicide.

The American Secretary of Defense, James Forrestal, suffering from a persecution mania and an atomic destruction psychosis, threw himself out of an eleventh story window. Although insane, he remained the leader of the United States Army, Navy and Air Force and resigned only at the last minute. Forrestal's calls for atomic warfare and atomic destruction coincided with the policy of the American reactionaries.

This, of course, was a particularly severe case. But there are also people who are said to have only an obsession. It is possible that future historians will study the question of how many leading political, economic and military positions in capitalist countries of the West were held in the 1950's by people with "obsessions", who never had a thought of throwing themselves out of windows.

Psychiatrists will demonstrate that about the middle of the twentieth century certain reactionary politicians, financial kings and military leaders in the capitalist world began to have a certain type of psychosis -- a mania for atomic destruction. It will also become clear that individuals subject to this disease continued to be regarded in their environment as "big politicians", "military geniuses" and "business giants" -- just at the time that emergency measures should have been taken to protect mankind against them.

It is true that some people with mental disturbances have an unusual ability to conceal their disease from persons around them. But sooner or later they give themselves away. Here is an example.

Late in 1949 a Britisher stated in public that a new war "would be a real holiday for us, and will kill lots of people".

It is difficult to believe that this was said by a healthy person. Fully normal people do not talk this way, even in times of excitement. Maybe this was an accidental "outburst", which the speaker immediately regretted.

Three years later, in the spring of 1953, the same Britisher delivered a speech at the National Press Club in Washington on the international situation and on the "European Defense Community". Here is how he began his speech:

"What is the reason for the mess throughout the world? Probably I could talk on this subject for five hours. I shall try to explain to you in five minutes what I think the trouble is... The present "cold war" must be conducted on a global basis. This is imperative. But it is being conducted otherwise. The next war must likewise be waged on a global basis... Is all this clear? This little mess doesn't amount to much. Wait a minute, and you will hear something better... To tell the truth, gentlemen, I know that I did not speak so badly. That is right. In such a brief time I have explained the causes for the present mess in the world."

Then the speaker made the following declaration (we quote him word for word):

"Look at everything that is taking place around us. There is nothing that is in full order. The thing is to make a start. I want this treaty (on the aggressive war pact in West Europe -- A. L.) to be put into effect. Let everything be topsyturvy at first, everything will get straightened out later. Set this infernal machine into motion, boys, and push it along. Push it along. The French must ratify the treaty. They have got to ratify it. No matter what, they are obliged to ratify it. ... They have got to do it."

The author of both the statements cited here is a British Field Marshal, Lord Montgomery, Deputy Supreme Allied Commander of the NATO armed forces in Europe.

According to the British press, Montgomery never touches intoxicating liquors because of religious convictions. Thus, we must regard his statements as having been made while sober.

How could such a person become a Field Marshal and one of the leading military commanders of the West?

II

"He is very short, and to seem taller because he wears shoes with very thick soles. ... He was usually photographed standing on some elevation; then his appearance became more impressive and stern. He was in his famous black beret. ... The loudspeakers brought to everyone his shrill, almost penetrating voice."

This is how Ralph Ingersoll, an American journalist assigned to the main headquarters of the Anglo-American forces during World War II, describes the first meeting of American soldiers in Great Britain with Montgomery in December, 1943. By this time, the London yellow press was already proclaiming Montgomery to be a "military genius". This was a myth. But his entire reputation as a commander rests upon a myth.

Montgomery was born in Ulster, the northern part of Ireland, long since captured and settled by British Protestant land-lords and kulaks. The Ulster land-owners and industrials have long been considered the most reactionary section of the British bourgeoisie. Even among the conservatives, the Ulster "die-hards" were regarded as incorrigible and dangerous retrogrades, stopping at nothing in seeking their sinister goals. For many decades, the Ulster landlords took land away from the Irish peasants and made them into hired hands, workers or paupers. The Irish emigrated to America by whole villages. A chronic terror reigned in Ulster. Irishmen who resisted were hanged, or, in less serious cases, were lashed and left to rot in jails.

Some of the Ulster landlords and their children enthusiastically applied their skill in pacification abroad. In the British colonies, they proved themselves to be top-notch specialists in this field. Montgomery's paternal grandfather was a general in the Anglo-Indian Army, which took part in the bloody suppression of the Indian Mutiny of 1857. At that time, as became well known in Great Britain, some officers of the punitive brigades acquired a great deal of property, appropriating valuables from plundered temples and the property of Hindus who were killed or exiled.

While certain members of the Montgomery family were educating the Irish and the Hindus with the aid of gallows and whips, others were delivering sermons. Combining one with the other was always a tradition of the Ulster landlords. Members of their families shared both these trades. Montgomery's maternal grandfather was the Dean of Canterbury Cathedral, his father, the Bishop of Tasmania, and his brother, a military chaplain.

The "Black Hundred" North Irish landlords, colonial nabobs who considered all peoples except the Anglo-Saxons to be of an inferior race, church functionaries who were cold as death and who chilled any display of a healthy popular spirit -- it was in such an environment that the youth of the future field marshal was passed. Evidently, it left a deep impression on his thought and character. This man, who dreams of an atomic war as a "real holiday" and calls for "killing a lot of people" with unconcealed enthusiasm, is still trying to pass for a "deeply religious" ascetic. Because of the same motives, the Field Marshal does not even allow himself to smoke. A cigarette is a mortal sin for Montgomery, but an atomic bomb is a sacred thing.

III

Montgomery attended that school of colonial militarism which all officers of the British General Staff formerly attended without exception. Lacking this, their education was considered to be incomplete, and they were not allowed to occupy high posts. In the colonies they were trained to "command", that is to tryannize the defenseless aborigines. If someone did not distinguish himself in this, he did not have a career. Colonialism is not only the source of the riches of the old

British bourgeoisie, but is also their higher educational institute. It is not possible to learn the military art in the colonies, since the enemy there is unarmed. But it was relatively easy to advance high in the ranks. The more arrogantly and mercilessly an officer conducted himself toward the colored population, the faster he usually received his promotions.

In the mid-1930's Montgomery, who began his service in 1908, was a Colonel on the General Staff in the Indian city of Quetta. In 1938, he was appointed a Divisional Commander in Palestine, where the British authorities were then carrying out repressions against the population. Montgomery, already a General, improved and broadened his qualifications. Then a sudden end came to the colonial idyl. Montgomery was sent to France to fight against the Hitlerites. On the night of 31 May 1940 he was hastily evacuated from Dunkirk to his homeland, having won no laurels. The general spent the next two years in the rear areas.

In August, 1942, Montgomery's real career began. As was remarked in British military circles, he was unusually lucky. Rommel's Hitlerite army was then pushing the British forces back in North Africa, driving toward the East. General Harold Alexander was named the new Commander-in-Chief of the British armies in the Near East, and General Gott was made Commander of the Eighth Army, which was subordinate to Alexander. The aircraft on which Gott was flying to his headquarters to take over the command was shot down by the Germans, and Gott lost his life. Montgomery, almost unknown to the British public, was appointed in his place. After a month the German advance on Cairo was beaten back, and in November, 1942, the British Eighth Army defeated Rommel at El Alamein, thus establishing Montgomery's military reputation.

The British victory at El Alamein was explained quite simply. The British Eighth Army by that time had received armament in quantities it had not possessed before. The allied fleet was advancing toward the French possessions in North Africa. It was to make a landing in Rommel's rear. The German and Italian forces were isolated and could not expect reinforcements; Hitler had concentrated all his forces to strike at Stalingrad. The outcome of World War II was being decided on the Soviet-German front, and events there largely determined the conditions of battle in the African desert. Today this is clear to any serious military historian. The American expert Hanson Baldwin has reached the conclusion that "it was impossible to lose" the battle of El Alamein.

Nevertheless, after El Alamein many British newspapers claimed that the entire victory was due to Montgomery's exceptional abilities. An unprecedented clamour arose around the name of the former colonial officer-pacifier, who had until then made his mark only as a "strategist" against unarmed people. Montgomery was raised to the level of a

"military genius". The reactionary British circles, which were responsible for a number of defeats in the early part of the war and were systematically postponing the opening of a second front, needed a swash-buckling figure at the head of the army, a military "star" who could be flaunted before the public. When the British workers cried out at meetings, "Why aren't we fighting?", the reactionaries answered, "Look at Montgomery".

Montgomery looked at himself. There is no doubt that he himself played one of the leading roles in the British press campaign exalting him. This general undoubtedly has one ability; he is a true master at advertising himself. It is right in his element to make a lot of noise, to talk about himself, to "impress" reporters and photographers and to appear before the public on specially erected elevations. It is no secret that Montgomery often prepares an interview with himself in written form, which is then printed in British and American newspapers under yard-long headlines.

Hanson Baldwin wrote of Montgomery: "It was impossible not to admire this man's histrionic ability." Noting the "posturing inherent in Montgomery", his "stupendous egoism and extraordinary self-confidence", Baldwin also remarked that Montgomery's book on his European campaigns "was written inarticulately", although "the personal pronoun 'I' is abundantly scattered throughout the book."

After El Alamein, Montgomery was made a full General and was knighted. A year later he became the Commander-in-Chief of the British forces which were to land on the European continent. In this post he positively declared himself to be unbeatable. But military history has another opinion. In reality, Montgomery personally suffered a number of defeats beginning with the landing in Normandy in June 1944, and continuing right up to the surrender of the Hitlerites in May 1945.

IV

Montgomery began by obtaining a delay from the beginning of May to June, 1944, in the landing on the French shore, despite the decisions of the Teheran Conference. After landing in Normandy, the Allied Forces suffered a serious defeat at Caen. For almost a month they were unable to take this city, and lost the entire British tank corps, which was thrown against the most strongly fortified sectors of the German positions by Montgomery's command. In Eisenhower's headquarters, action against Montgomery was demanded; he was for all practical purposes deprived of the position of Commander-in-Chief of the Allied infantry forces in the West. In September of the same year, Montgomery essentially lost the battle of Arnheim, where he had planned to win a decisive battle so that he could end the war in 1944 with a triumph for himself. Realizing that he would not be able to do this, Montgomery declared in November that an invasion of Germany would be impossible until the summer of 1945. It was only because the Soviet Army was continuing its smashing offensive in the East that Montgomery again decided

to act. If World War II had developed as Montgomery wanted it to, and not as the Soviet Union wanted it, Hitler would have been able to recover from the blows struck at him and to prepare carefully for a spring campaign.

When Hitler counterattacked in the Ardennes in December, 1944, Montgomery, according to Ingersoll, "became panicky", ordered his units to retreat and "almost ruined everything". As is well known, the Soviet Army's advance on the eastern front, which the British urgently requested from the Soviet High Command, enabled Montgomery to avoid a complete defeat and permitted the British Army to ward off another Dunkirk. Nevertheless after the Ardennes battle Montgomery handed the press an interview composed by himself in which he claimed that he personally saved the situation and won the battle.

At the end of March 1945, when the Soviet Army was completing its defeat of the Hitlerites, Montgomery decided to cross the Rhine. Now he had the aim of breaking quickly into the German plain in order to attempt -- as was clearly established subsequently -- to outrace the Soviet Army in capturing Berlin. But Montgomery failed here also.

Berlin was taken by the Soviet Army. The war was over. Montgomery collected the weapons surrendered by the Germans so that it would be possible some time to direct them -- together with the Hitlerites themselves in the Western Zone -- against the socialist countries. As far back as the spring of 1945 Montgomery was thinking of what is now being considered day and night in the headquarters of the North Atlantic bloc.

Such is a brief sketch of the military career of this noisy Field Marshal, who, according to the American writer Ingersoll, is considered by the Americans to be a "mediocre general". We must admit that Montgomery's prestige as a commander has been "gilded" by himself and his influential protectors. This is the principal secret of his career. We must take into account that it is these same benefactors who play the principal role in everything that is done, said and dreamed by the present Deputy Supreme Commander of the NATO Armed Forces in Europe.

Montgomery is a product of British imperialism. His personal "peculiarities and obsessions", his mania for destruction and his atomic psychosis to some extent reflect the condition in which British monopoly capital finds itself at present. Its condition is extremely serious, the most serious in its history. This is why some "heroes" of British imperialism today differ so in their conduct and in their calibre from such "heroes" in the last century. It has long been known that in every historical era and in every country the calibre and conduct of the leading politicians and statesmen is determined primarily by the situation of the class which they represent. In its heyday, a class brings forward

individuals who are quite different in their talent from those it brings forward during its decline. This is seen particularly clearly in the case of Montgomery.

British capitalism is in decline. At one time it had first place in the bourgeois world and dictated its will to 600,000,000 people, a quarter of all mankind. The territory of the British colonial empire was almost 170 times as great as the territory of Great Britain. Now British monopoly capitalism is in the grips of a crisis. Its colonial empire is falling apart before our eyes, and the military adventures undertaken to restore it are failing. The peoples of Asia and Africa are pushing the decrepit British lion from all sides. The American billionaires are taking over its former positions.

During such a time the exaltation of such persons as Montgomery by the British bourgeoisie cannot cause any wonder. It is in need of people suffering from aggressive psychoses who demand that "everything be topsyturvy". The bankrupt colonialists are placing their bets on the former colonial pacifier who has lost any contact with reality. Montgomery is unable to understand that he will not have a chance to pacify anyone the way he did in the old days or on that scale. It has never occurred to him that the world today is not like what Ireland and India were in his youth and that it is not afraid of his lash.

VI

He is now seventy years old, but is still self-confident. In his speeches in recent years he always repeats the same thing -- a typical trait of people possessed by obsessions. He presages a "holiday" of war, and with a kind of voluptuousness presents a picture of a "mass atomic bombardment of the East", as he visualizes it. When one becomes acquainted with Montgomery's speeches, one gains the impression that there is no room for any other thoughts in his head.

In October, 1953, Montgomery declared: "Though the population of the NATO countries consists of 400,000,000 persons, and the population of the Soviet bloc amounts to 800,000,000, our side has unequalled spiritual power". What does this person mean by spiritual power? Of course, the atomic bomb. On 8 October 1954 he confirmed this, stating in Ankara: "Some say that atomic weapons will not be used if war breaks out. I do not share this point of view. We shall be obliged to use atomic weapons." Two weeks later Montgomery reported in a lecture at the Royal United Service Institution: "We in the NATO headquarters are basing all our plans for military operations on the use of atomic and nuclear weapons." And four months later, speaking in the American city of Pasadena, he again explained how he understood the incomparable "spiritual power" of the Atlantic bloc: "We shall not be able to withstand the force which might be unleashed against us if we do not use nuclear weapons".

It was 1955 and the beginning of 1956. "The spirit of Geneva" was dispelling the atmosphere of the "cold war". The great majority of Englishmen were joyfully greeting the prospects of a peaceful coexistence of the two systems. But Montgomery talked, talked, talked -- and all about the same thing.

On 5 November 1955 he declared in Denver: "The fear of atomic destruction is strengthening peace." What does this mean? Only one thing, that the more atomic and hydrogen bombs there are, the more fear there is, and the more fear there is, the stronger peace is. Conclusion: more bombs. Such is this man's "logic". Of what interest to him are the intelligent arguments which say that to strengthen peace no atomic bombs at all should exist.

A month later, at a meeting of the NATO Council in Paris, he openly advocated preparation for an "unlimited nuclear war". On 10 October 1956, Montgomery delivered a lecture at the Royal Military Academy in London with the title: "A Panorama of War in the Atomic Age". At last he was offered a topic to his own taste. Montgomery presented his "panorama" with such satisfaction, and talked about the horrors of the "future war" with such cynicism that, as the right-wing British newspaper, Daily Mail, was obliged to report, the audience at the lecture listened to it "in gloomy silence". Montgomery again called for an anti-Communist "crusade" and criticized the western powers for "insufficient preparation for nuclear warfare". He demanded the preparation of a "general global plan against Communism" and called upon the countries of the West to "make every effort" to supply the army with atomic weapons.

After this rollicking lecture of Montgomery's, a commentator in the Daily Mirror, the largest newspaper in London, wrote: "I ask you, what would we say if some Soviet commander, equal in rank to Lord Montgomery, were to mount a lecture platform and describe in detail how Russia is preparing to defeat and destroy us ten years from now and how no mercy would or could be shown to the survivors?"

It is understandable how a person such as Montgomery talks about the mass destruction of people with satisfaction. But still the indefatigable atomic travelling salesman does not want to think about his not being alone in possessing nuclear and hydrogen weapons. He forgets the fact which all sane persons in Great Britain are constantly pointing out, that the island of Britain is extremely vulnerable to atomic warfare. He prefers not to elaborate upon this topic. All he wants is to "make a start", "to set the infernal machine into motion", and to turn "everything topsyturvy". Perhaps he has already prepared a number of additional sensational interviews with himself in the event that these things do take place.

VII.

We have already explained how and why Montgomery has been brought forward. However, in recent years his reputation in Great Britain has suffered considerably because of his pathological atomic fantasies. Still he has been left in his position. It is not hard to guess the reason.

The atomic psychosis of militarists is advantageous to those who profit by them, namely the largest war monopolies of the West, which are selling armament to the Atlantic bloc, that is, to Montgomery. It is not superfluous to note that the former Chief of Staff, Montgomery's friend, General Weeks, until recently headed the British trust, Vickers, which is manufacturing much of the equipment of the British Army, Navy and Air Force. The more aggressively Montgomery speaks, the faster grow the dividends of the war monopolies which his friends direct. In the final analysis, the Field Marshal is working on the London and New York stock exchanges.

In 1953, Montgomery's family became directly related to the British monopoly oligarchy; the Field Marshal's son, David, married the daughter of the President of the Federation of British Industries, Charles Connell, owner of one of Scotland's leading ship-building enterprises.

Montgomery cannot be separated from the reactionary monopolists of the City. But while Montgomery is of the same flesh and blood as British capitalism during its historical crisis, he must in no way be confused with the British people. As in the cases of General Ismay and the monopolist Lyttelton, there is nothing in common between Montgomery and the ordinary Englishman or the British worker. As far back as January 1954, the London newspaper, Daily Sketch, wrote: "Montgomery has called a future atomic war a 'trifling matter'. Regretably, it is difficult to keep Montgomery from making a fool of himself. But we can at least repudiate his crude blunder and ask him to keep his trap shut in the future."

Montgomery did not heed this advice. Soon Greenwood, a member of Parliament, stated: "The time has come for this intriguer Montgomery to keep quiet."

Doctors state that one should not expect quiet from people with mental "peculiarities" -- especially, we may add, when these people are connected with the stock market.

Three years ago, Columbia University in New York awarded Montgomery the honorary degree of Doctor of Jurisprudence. However, the people of the world have given Montgomery another title, which also is connected with law. They consider him guilty of participating in the plot against peace.

THE BONN REPUBLIC

"Regardless of the phrases behind which the Bonn authorities and their western partners may hide, it is perfectly clear that their program is based upon converting all of Germany into an imperialistic state and into the primary military base of NATO in Europe." -- N. S. Khrushchev, speech at a meeting of the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic, 8 August 1957.

The Smithy of War

M. Sturua

Once the French journal Usine Nouvelle, not without a tremor of feeling in its voice, stated: "The Ruhr has again become a symbol -- the symbol of a mighty heavy industry which is a dangerous competitor in peace time and a gigantic center of war production."

When bourgeois writers talk about the Ruhr, their breath stops for a moment. "Unique" is an epithet which they honor it with so often that the American journal United Nations World calls this epithet "tiresome". This, however, does not prevent the Ruhr from remaining truly a unique area of its type in the richness of its mineral deposits, in the advantages of its location, in the strength of its economy and in the concentration of its industry.

In a small territory along the river Ruhr (a right tributary of the Rhine, sixty kilometers from east to west and twenty to thirty kilometers from north to south, is concentrated the war-industry smithy of Germany.

"Here in the Ruhr", writes the American journal New York Times Magazine, "are located the steel mills and metal-processing plants which supplied Wilhelm II and Hitler with everything they needed to almost attain victory". (The word "almost" is correct; we must not forget this.) In this small scrap of German soil are located three-quarters of all the coal deposits in Germany, estimated at 250,000,000,000 tons (the largest in Western Europe). The coal from the Ruhr is of excellent quality, and is ideal for conversion into coke. The Ruhr accounts for seventy per cent of coal production in West Germany and seventy to eighty per cent of the metal production of all of Germany.

Nowhere in the world is there such a concentration of all types of heavy industry in such a small area as there is in the Ruhr. On the basis of the coal, not only the metal, but also the chemical industry flourishes here; they are closely intertwined. The coal of the Ruhr goes into the blast furnaces of the metallurgical plants, and the gas by-products of the furnaces are used by the chemical enterprises.

Every square kilometer of the Ruhr valley is a continuous alternation of mines and plants, plants and mines. The industrial cities of the Ruhr -- Essen, Duisburg, Dortmund and Dusseldorf -- are located so close to each other that if one has a bird's eye view of the Ruhr, it appears to be a single continuous city.

Transportation facilities in the Ruhr are excellent. Railroads and river canals cover the Ruhr region in a thick network. Along the Rhine and along railroads through Holland, the production of the Ruhr beats a path to the sea. The Dortmund-Ems canal connects the Ruhr with the North Sea. The freight turnover of the Ruhr is enormous. The Ruhr imports iron ore, scrap iron, lumber, cement, other building materials, and a substantial amount of food; it exports coal, pig iron, cast iron, steel, numerous metallurgical industry products, and chemicals.

Over two million highly qualified specialists and workers are concentrated in the Ruhr.

The high concentration of war production, the enormous natural resources, the excellent transportation connections, the highly qualified working force -- these factors are attracting the greedy eyes of international imperialistic reaction to the Ruhr. This is why the Ruhr was spared during the war and was quickly reborn after its occupation.

The Golden Rain

Immediately after the defeat of the Hitlerites in West Germany, emissaries of the largest American and British monopolies rushed in. After hastily putting on military uniforms and diplomatic dinner jackets, they took matters into their own hands. General Lucius Clay was made the first American High Commissioner in West Germany; he was Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Continental Can Company and a Director of the copper-mining company Newmont Mining. Another general, William Draper, Vice-President of the large American bank, Dillon, Reid and Company, was assigned as financial advisor to Clay. The American occupation organizations controlling the west German mining and metal industry turned out to be in the hands of the largest steel companies of the United States, chiefly United States Steel. When, on 26 February 1949, the "German administrators" were appointed to put the "de-cartelized" steel mills into operation, the control over their activities was entrusted to the American observers William Brinkerhof, Werner Nauman, Ronald Clark, and I. F. L. Elliott. All four were representatives of United States Steel.

Exceptional activity was shown in the Ruhr also by the largest banking groups in the United States -- the Warburg and "Kuhn, Loeb and Company" groups, the First National Bank, the Rockefeller banking house, and likewise the Societe Generale de Belgique, controlled by Wall Street.

The former American High Commissioner John McCloy was a henchman of the American financial oligarchy, especially the Rockefeller-controlled Chase National Bank (now the Chase Manhattan Bank). These people, according to the author of the pamphlet "Diary of democracy," H. A. Toulmin, "preserved and protected" the pre-war cartels. In general, as was pointed out in the pamphlet published in Great Britain in March, 1954, Who Controls West German Industry?, "the restoration of German industry was chiefly financed by American funds and through the same people as in the 1920's." Today mankind knows why that dangerous game was played. Someone across the ocean wanted to use Germany as a mercenary soldier to strangle the young Soviet Russia. But the disobedient soldier undertook to strangle the whole world, including his benefactors.

After German heavy industry was restored following World War I, largely with loans of American dollars provided by United States monopolies, a considerable role in converting these loans into heavy industry with the aim of reviving the war potential of aggressive German militarism was played by one of the directors of the Bank of Germany, Hermann Abs. Later he became one of Hitler's principal financial advisers. Here is what was written about him by the American Section of the Allied Control Council as recently as November, 1946: "Abs was the driving force of the Bank of Germany, in which an unusual concentration of economic power was combined with active participation in the criminal policy of the Nazi regime. Abs gave all his attention to the spreading of German rule over Europe."

Despite this "flattering" description, or more likely because of it, Abs wound up after World War II not on the defendants' bench, but in the position of Financial Adviser to the Western occupying powers. Subsequently he was transferred to the chairmanship of the Commission of Economic Questions of the Council of Europe. (The old love of Abs for Europe evidently had not died away.) In 1948 in West Germany the American authorities established the "Credit Bank for Reconstruction", the President of which was the former assistant of Schacht in the Reichsbank, Schniewind, and the vice-president, Abs. The rebirth of West German military industry was financed through this bank. In the years 1948 to 1950 alone 42.8 billion marks were invested for this purpose in West Germany; 4 billion of this sum came from the funds of the "Marshall plan".

After 1950, the "Credit Bank for Reconstruction" (let me add the words "of War Industry") became the transfer point for American private and government investments in the industry of the Ruhr.

Funds were also released which the West German monopolies, foreseeing the possibility of the defeat of Germany, had transferred in sufficient time to their accounts in Swiss banks.

The results of all these investments were soon to be seen; the production index in West Germany by the end of 1955 amounted to 214, with 1936 taken as 100. The heavy industry of the Ruhr is developing especially quickly. "Things in the Ruhr", reports the American journal Nation, "are probably going better than in any other industrial center in Europe."

Seeking to restore their production as quickly as possible, the German monopolies were obliged to make many concessions to their American competitors, which had become dominant as a result of World War II. The pre-war cartel agreements between the United States and West Germany were revised in favor of the former. The American company General Motors, which even before the war had acquired a large block of shares in the largest automobile-manufacturing firm, Opel, is continuing its advance. The Ford Company has expanded its plants at Cologne and has undertaken the construction of a new group of automobile enterprises which will manufacture automobiles and trucks, as well as armored vehicles. The controlling interest in the shares of the west German firms Opel, Fordwerke, and Daimler-Benz, providing about two thirds of the entire automobile production of West Germany, according to press reports, are now located in the safes of American monopolies. The control over the oil industry of West Germany has passed to the American oil monopolies Standard Oil of New Jersey and Socony-Vacuum Oil. Krupp has had to yield, too. As reported in the Italian newspaper Avanti, very large blocks of shares in the Krupp enterprises have gone to the former United States ambassador in France, Douglas Dillon, and to William Draper of Dillon, Reid and Company. Other Wall Street shareholders have also appeared.

For the time being, the West German monopolies are reconciled to these gains of their American competitor. The point is that they share the same goal -- to restore the military industrial complex of the Ruhr. But the magnates of West German industry are looking far ahead; they are preparing for the return of their former domination over Europe, and indeed over more than Europe. They are dreaming of the time when they will be able to occupy all the positions which they have lost to the monopolies of the United States.

"Playing with Blocks"

Shortly after the war, the American newspaper Wall Street Journal wrote cynically that the United States "is accepting with real enthusiasm the idea of restoring the military industry of the Ruhr". By 1951, this "idea" had become a reality, and by this time 317 plants in west Germany were engaged in war production. At the present time, the number of such plants, according to quite incomplete statistics, exceeds 400.

The concentration of economic power into the hands of the Ruhr coal and steel kings is proceeding at high speed. According to the ADN agency, a little over twenty Ruhr magnates have now concentrated in their hands 97 per cent of the steel production of West Germany, 85 per cent of the cast-iron output, and 91 per cent of the rolled steel.

The pre-war trusts and cartels are being born again.

The most powerful German steel trust Vereinigte Stahlwerke, with a slight change in its signboard, is again dominant in the Ruhr. The Thyssen Company -- the nucleus of the Vereinigte Stahlwerke is vigorously consolidating itself. Its largest units, Huttenwerke Phoenix A. G. and Rheinische Rohrenwerke, have already been consolidated. The Thyssen firm August Thyssen-Hütte has for all practical purposes taken over control of the metallurgical enterprises Niederrheinische Hütte as well.

A group of west German magnates associated in the Mannesmann firm, is not far behind the Thyssen firm. This company has already acquired the firm Konsolidation Bergbau A. G., which in turn has swallowed up the company Essener Steinkohlenbergwerke A. G., formerly belonging to the Flick concern. The Mannesmann Company has again absorbed the firm Stahlindustrie and Maschinenbau, which has become the principal machine-building base of the concern. As a result of all these operations, the Mannesmann firm has become the third in the production of coal in the Ruhr, and has fully regained its pre-war level. At the present time it is producing a third of the West German output of pipes. According to the General Manager of the firm, Zangen, a former Nazi and a close associate of Goering, the capital stock of the Mannesmann firm now amounts to 370,000,000 marks; at the end of the war it was 160,000,000 marks.

Klochner, the hereditary Ruhr coal and steel king, has not only regained but has expanded his domain. He has seized the coal enterprises of the company Koenigsbornwerke A. G. and has acquired the ship-building company Norddeutsche Hütte, which formerly belonged to Krupp. The traditional name of the company, Klocknerwerke A. G., has been restored. The Klochner firm has nearly tripled its capital in comparison with the period before the war.

And what about Krupp? Incidentally, the question mark here is quite unnecessary. As a matter of fact, is it possible to visualize a rebirth of the Ruhr monarchy of coal and steel kings without Krupp -- the cannon king, whose name has become a symbol of German imperialism, a symbol of war.

Krupp, while still in prison, together with the steel company head, Flock, did not ask for leniency, in seeking their release as reformed swindlers but proposed a profitable transaction to their jailers.

Through their agents, they informed the American and British occupation authorities that if they were freed, they would be "ready to provide the allies with certain services". Krupp even promised to submit to the occupation authorities his plan of a "voluntary de-cartelization" of his military plants, "which would accord with the aims of the western powers." The "de-cartelization" of the Krupp military concern in reality became part of the further concentration of his economic power and the restoration of his military potential.

As the west German newspaper Die Welt has stated, "the Krupp of today is no longer the Krupp of yesterday, and even the Krupp of yesterday was no worse than Vickers-Armstrong or Schneider-Creusot". No one is going to quarrel with this; they are all worthy of each other.

It is not possible, and indeed it would tire the reader, to list all the firms and companies, all these innumerable "A. G.'s" and "I. G.'s", which Krupp added to his possessions after the war with every method existing in the world. In general, as the American journal Newsweek stated, "with the return of Alfred Krupp's plants to him, he has again become the dominate personality in Essen, the capital of the Ruhr".

Flick did not waste any time, either. His capital, which amounted to about 70,000,000 marks before World War II, now amounts to about a billion and a half.

These are the real results of the "de-cartelization" of the Ruhr monarchy. As the British newspaper Manchester Guardian wrote in this regard, "the allies' measures to liquidate the trusts have been no more 'final' than the activities of a child who knocks down his blocks to build them again the next day."

"Playing with blocks." Yes, you cannot deny that the Manchester Guardian has a sense of humor. But one cannot also deny that it is flippant, because what it calls "playing with blocks" is in reality a very dangerous game -- playing with fire.

When the old cartels and trusts are being reborn and their old masters are taking over the control of these cartels and trusts, it is quite natural that they will begin to follow their old policy. This policy is militarism and revenge. It is not chance that of the 400 military industrialists to whom Hitler awarded at one time the title of "Fuehrer of Military Economics", today all who are still alive are again occupying key positions in the economy of West Germany, maintaining under their control the most important branches of military production.

These four "black hundreds", of course, are not playing with blocks. The graph of the stock prices of these military concerns eloquently shows that the remilitarization of West Germany is going on with constantly

increasing speed and is bringing new profits to the West German monopolies, especially to the Ruhr magnates. Bonn is operating in full concord with the Ruhr. Military orders are pouring in upon the Ruhr magnates, as if from a horn of plenty.

As far back as the beginning of 1954, the Federal Union of German Industry, composed of magnates who at one time financed the Hitler military adventure, established a "Committee on Armament", which undertook the planning of the capital construction of war industry. The former Nazi admiral Meendsen-Bohlken was made head of this committee.

This committee, like the department for assignment of military orders of the Bonn War Ministry, is swamped with work. Judge for yourselves:

The Mannesmann Company is producing shell cases in its enterprises in Osnabruck. West German firms in Siegen and Weidenau are manufacturing large caliber artillery shells. In Pfaffenhofen, near Schwabach (Bavaria), an ammunition factory is under construction. Messerschmidt has undertaken the construction of a new aircraft plant in Essen, which will deliver 300 bombers monthly; four new plants in the suburbs of Stuttgart are being built by the Heinkel Aircraft Company. Work has been resumed on the enterprises of the Junkers-Werke GMBH, in particular at the Fieseler plants in Kassel, which turned out the FAU-1 rockets during the war. As the newspaper Frankfurter Allgemeine reported in October 1956, the colossal sum of 5 billion marks is foreseen as the cost of the establishment of the West German Air Force. It is planned to increase the military aircraft of the FRG to 5,000 planes within five years.

Work is in full swing at the gigantic ship-building wharfs of Blohm und Voss, where the naval might of Hitlerite Germany was once established. The Daimler-Benz Company, Auto-Union and Porsche have received the order for the first 7600 motor vehicles for the resurgent Wehrmacht. Orders for the delivery of explosives have been divided among the Dynamit A. G. Worm, Alfred Nobel and Wasag. Over 400 West German firms are now occupied in supplying the divisions of the Bundeswehr which is now being created.

The gigantic smithy of war is in operation. The former war criminals -- the Ruhr kings and those (doubly criminal) who aided them to rise and be reborn -- are again preparing a bloodbath for the peoples.

What is this? Playing with blocks? No, it is playing with fire!

"Chain Reaction"

It was not long ago that the political travelling salesmen of the West European Union were praising the Paris treaties in every way, describing them as a miraculous panacea for all ills arising from the rebirth

of German militarism, and as a hundred per cent guarantee against the arming of the resurgent Wehrmacht with atomic weapons and the production of nuclear weapons in West Germany.

Not so much time was required for the fog of words to dissolve and the public found itself faced with the certain prospects of supplying the resurgent Wehrmacht with atomic weapons. The West German monopolies are already preparing to generate the monstrous potion of war in their atomic reactors. Such are the results of the chain reaction of the short-sighted policy of the Western powers who are promoting the remilitarization of West Germany.

The Bonn seekers for revenge are already not satisfied with a "conventional" half-million army; they are creating an army equipped with nuclear weapons. A "total atomic armament of the Bundeswehr" (that is, the Wehrmacht) is necessary, it was announced, according to the West German newspaper Der Mittag, by General Heusinger, who is the head of the Bonn "Main Military Board". General Heusinger is echoed by another former Hitler general, Kammhuber, who is occupied in the military department at Bonn with the rebirth of the air forces. Kammhuber also feels that it is necessary to "shift the center of gravity to atomic and nuclear weapons".

Realizing that an open violation of the Paris treaties would provoke a stormy and unfavorable reaction among much of the European public, the builders of the new Wehrmacht have fallen back upon a flank maneuver. The screen behind which this maneuver is being carried out is "Euratom".

According to its organizers, "Euratom" ("European Community of Atomic Energy") is to assist the west European powers in the peaceful use of atomic energy. But in Washington and Bonn, people are planning, with the aid of "Euratom", to circumvent those articles of the Paris treaties which prohibit West Germany from producing and possessing atomic and hydrogen weapons.

This was obviously hinted at by the present Bonn Minister of War, Strauss, who until recently was the Minister of Atomic Affairs. He stated: "The time has come for us to undertake work to catch up with what Germany has let slip by..." In regard to the idea of "Euratom", Strauss significantly emphasized: "We regard any international or supra-national cooperation from the point of view of assistance, and not just from the point of view of control." The Ruhr monopolies greeted the birth of "Euratom" with unconcealed joy.

The preparation of the declaration on "Euratom", in which West German representatives also participated, coincided with the beginning of negotiations between Bonn and Washington on the treaty, since signed, on "cooperation in the field of the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes" and the creation of a Commission on Atomic Energy under the

Bonn government. As a United Press correspondent frankly stated, the bilateral agreement between the United States and West Germany "has no relationship to the agreements on the peaceful uses of atomic energy, which were signed only for research purposes." Allen, a New York Post correspondent, reported that the United States is planning to deliver atomic weapons to West Germany. The French newspaper Figaro disclosed that West Germany will be given all rights within the framework of "Euratom" to produce atomic weapons.

The functions of "Euratom" which were set up for reasons of camouflage are already beginning to atrophy, even though this association has not even to begin to function as yet. The Western powers have in reality permitted Bonn to possess and produce atomic weapons, having by their deeds repealed the prohibitory sections of the Paris agreements. This took place during the negotiations between Guy Mollet and Eden in Paris and Guy Mollet and Adenauer in Bonn in September and October 1956 with the full approval of Washington.

However, the chain reaction does not stop at this point. While Bonn and the Ruhr are asking for atomic weapons from the United States, they are also planning its production in the Federal Republic itself. The same general Heusinger stated significantly: "The Federal Republic must become more or less independent of the Western powers and if necessary begin the production of atomic weapons itself." According to the newspapers Suddeutsche Zeitung and Frankfurter Allgemeine, the decision has already been made in Bonn to supply the Wehrmacht "with several types of atomic weapons" produced in West Germany.

It was for just this purpose that a special atomic cartel was established as long ago as December, 1954, in West Germany, composed of sixteen large companies. Among them are branches of I. G. Farben -- Farbwerke Hoechst, and Bayer-Leverkusen -- and likewise Mannesmanne, Gute-Hofnungs-Hutte, AEG, Siemens, Krupp, and others.

This cartel began functioning under the innocent name: "Physical Research Institute, Inc." But in reality, its creation and activity show the irresponsibility of the people who brought it to life. Let us cite only the British newspaper Sunday Express, which wrote that "soon the Germans will be producing the component elements of the hydrogen bomb. Krupp is the atomic boss."

The rapid elevation of the chain reaction into official Bonn doctrine was facilitated by a new heightening of international tensions caused by the forces of world reaction, headed by the United States, which launched aggression against Egypt and organized the Fascist putsch in Hungary.

As far back as the session of NATO in Paris in December 1956, the participants in the session, supposedly to "harmonize" the military requirements and economic potentialities of the NATO members, passed a resolution on supplying the West German Armed Forces with atomic weapons. This in essence repealed the prohibitory articles of the Paris agreements.

The game was played so openly that the incident managed to do without any plants for fig leaves. Not without reason, a member of the West German delegation, Felix von Eckardt, declared immediately after the session that the most important decision of this session was that "in a year or eighteen months, the West German army will be supplied with atomic tactical weapons."

Finally, at the May, 1957, session of the NATO Council, Dulles, acting in the name of Wall Street and the Pentagon, approved atomic arms for the Bundeswehr, on the basis of the principle of "equal opportunity". Thus, the demands of the Ruhr magnates, expressed by their mouthpiece, the newspaper Industrie Kurier, for a "just equality" was satisfied.

The Bonn seekers after revenge, openly supported by Washington, are more and more openly beginning to play first fiddle in NATO under American direction. A dangerous process is taking place, which, in the cynical expression of Max Adenauer, son of the Bonn Chancellor and member of the "Board of Trustees of the RWE Power Company", signifies the "atomization" of West Germany.

A further step in this "atomization" was the rejection in the Bundestag of a proposed amendment to the Constitution providing that legislative action in the field of atomic energy can have only peaceful purposes. "The Federal Chancellor has himself removed his mask," the West German newspaper Frankische Tagespost stated in this connection.

Yes, the mask has been removed. The brutal face of West German militarism has appeared before the world, threatening it with the atomic bomb.

Who is Holding the Reins of Government?

Several years ago the then speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States, Joseph William Martin, went to West Germany to deliver a message of greetings from the American Congress to the Bonn Bundestag. The first visit he made was to the Ruhr region, to Essen, to Krupp. After the honored guest had inspected the Krupp factories, the cordial host Alfred Krupp gave a dinner in his honor at the Essener Hof hotel. Only then did Martin deign to go to the Bonn Bundestag. The American parliamentarian knew very well that the real power was concentrated in the Ruhr. From here stretch the threads of the powerful bonds with the "federal capital" of Bonn.

The federal chancellor Konrad Adenauer has long been connected with the largest monopolies of the Ruhr (the Rhine-Westphalian Electric Company, the banking house of J. G. Stein, the company Junkers A. G., the bank S. Oppenheim and Co. The Vice-Chancellor at Bonn, Bluecher, is among the direct henchmen of the Ruhr steel companies. In 1953, Bluecher confidentially stated: "I am following an economic and financial policy in the interests of German heavy industry". The Bonn Economics Minister, Dr. Erhard, former director of the Hitlerite Institute of Industrial Research, is a servant of the metallurgical companies of the Ruhr. Theodor Blank, until recently Minister of Defense of the FRG, is a large shareholder in the Thyssen Company. Furthermore ... But there is no need to go on.

The West German monopolies are supporting the ruling parties in Bonn financially.

Adenauer's party, the Christian Democratic Union, is fully supported by West German monopolistic and banking circles. The support of these circles played a decisive role in Adenauer's victory in the elections of September, 1953. In the 1957 elections, the monopolies threw several tens of millions of marks on the scales in favor of Adenauer. The President of the Union of German Industry -- the real government of West Germany -- Fritz Berg, significantly declared: "The opinion that an industrialist should be concerned only with his own enterprises and must not participate in politics has fallen into oblivion." Berg was hardly blazing a new trail. The West German monopolies are not only "participating" in politics; they direct them and steer them in their own mercenary interests.

Recently the monopolies have enjoyed considerable favor from one of the parties participating in the government coalition, the German Party -- the party of Junkers, big capital and former Nazis. A brief rejoinder by Schacht is sufficient to describe this party: "I am in agreement with the program of the German Party." The creditors of the German Party are: Reemtsma, the owner of the Hamburg Tobacco Company, who was formerly a close friend of Goering and who financed the Nazis: the oil company Hochbau-und Erdolgesellschaft S. Deichmann; and, of course, Krupp, who has already contributed 18,000,000 marks to this party's treasury.

* * *

On 10 August 1952, with due ceremonies, the signing of the treaty on the "European Coal and Steel Community" took place. On the day that this association began its activities, its head, Monnet, cried with emotion: "There is no longer any German coal or French steel, there is only European coal and European steel."

In reality, German coal has remained German, but French ores have begun to be cast not into European steel, but into German steel. It developed that Belgian and Dutch coal are likewise faced with the danger of being converted into fuel for the Ruhr military smithy.

Who gains from the "European Coal and Steel Community"? Here is what the French newspaper Combat wrote on this point: "If one examines the decisions made by the community since it was established, one must note with surprise that they are nearly always to the benefit of Germany alone". The newspaper expressed fear that the "European Coal and Steel Community" would fall under German domination.

There is every reason to have such fears.

Even before World War II, the Ruhr industrialists proposed the idea of an international cartel which is so similar to the "Schuman Plan" that they are like two drops of water. According to this "idea", the international cartel was to include Great Britain, France, Belgium, and Luxembourg in addition to the Ruhr. Since the Ruhr was the industrial core of the cartel, the proposers of this idea gave it the central and dominant role.

Therefore, when the "Schuman Plan" appeared, on the basis of which the so-called "European Coal and Steel Community" (ECSC) was established, the Ruhr magnates joyfully greeted it for many reasons. According to the French journal Usine nouvelle, the "European Coal and Steel Community" is helping the seven old large steel and coal groups of the Ruhr, divided into 41 separate companies, to join together again. West Germany "did not limit its freedom by joining the ECSC," states this journal, "it gained it again."

"Lebensraum" Again

The return of the West German monopolies to the world capitalist market is intensifying the contradictions between the imperialistic powers.

As far back as the beginning of 1950, Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, war criminal and former financial adviser to Hitler, demanded in his "financial letters" "the participation of Germany in plans for colonial development." On 10 March 1953, at a meeting of representatives of industrialists in Kassel, Franz von Papen proposed the incorporation of the countries of Latin America and of the Near and Middle East into the "sphere of interests" of West Germany.

The expansion program of the West German monopolies underwent special discussion at a meeting of West German industrialists at the end of January, 1953, which was held in Dusseldorf on the occasion of the

opening of the bank Schacht and Co. Among the three hundred participants in the conference were Schacht, von Papen, Hugo Stinnes, Heinrich Dinkelbach and other captains of West German finance and industry.

The Dusseldorf conference worked out a broad program of action. Here it is: continuing close cooperation with the American occupation authorities, support of the Adenauer government, an attack on the rights of the labor unions by cooperation with the leadership of the unions, an increase in the export of capital, primarily to countries where it may be possible to squeeze out British and American influence, an increased financing of political parties supporting the realization of these goals, an intensification of the struggle against the Communists and Social Democrats with the aim of excluding them from public and political life, and so forth.

In proposing a toast at the Dusseldorf banquet, the "financial genius" of Nazi Germany, Hjalmar Schacht, declared: "The time has come again when we can enter the southeast area extending from Sarajevo to Japan."

Not long before this, Schacht himself had crossed this very area. He visited Spain, Iraq, Iran, Egypt, Indonesia, India, and other countries. His trip had the aim of renewing the old ties of the German monopolies and to pave the way for increasing exports of West German capital. It was just after his trips that he established the Schacht and Ludwig Bank in Hamburg and the Schacht and Co. Bank in Dusseldorf.

Together with big industrialists and junkers, Schacht established a new West German financial group. Why? To strive for a place for West German monopolies in the imperialistic exploitation of the "underdeveloped" countries and the colonial and semi-colonial regions of the world.

The West German monopolies, the true rulers of the FRG, have long and insistently demanded that Bonn provide favorable conditions for the development of the economic war against their American and British competitors. It would not be without interest in this connection to describe the so-called "founders' dinner" held in February, 1954, in the Bremen city hall, which was attended by two hundred representatives of West German industrial and banking capital and overseas trade and shipping, as well as by representatives of the Bonn government, headed by Chancellor Adenauer. Who were these founders? According to the newspaper Bremer Nachrichten, they were the Nazi bankers Pferdmeiges and Abs, von Siemens -- the owner of a military firm, Alfred Krupp, Muller -- the general manager of a joint insurance company, Dr. Hilpert -- the chairman of the Board of the Railroads of the FRG, Dr. Konecke -- general manager of the Daimler-Benz A. G., Schmitz -- General Manager of Ruhrstahl A. G., Dr. Dubbers -- representative of the Hanse Shipping Company, Butschkau -- President of the Association of West German Savings Banks,

von Waldthausen -- representative of the Reinische Stahlwerke Company, and other financial bigwigs and industrial magnates. Among the demands submitted to Adenauer at this dinner, a prominent place was given to the doubling of the tonnage of the West German merchant marine and the further development of foreign trade.

The Federal Chancellor, making his reply, assured the "founders" that their desires would be carried out. And they are being carried out.

The American and British monopolies, which assisted to a considerable extent in the restoration of the military industry potential, are now fearfully feeling the "cold breath" of German competition. There is no reason to doubt that, as time goes by, this breath will become colder and colder.

Along the Old Route

Not long ago, industrial and financial magnates arrived from all over West Germany at Landsberg Castle, near Mulheim (Ruhr), which belongs to the Thyssens, a dynasty of Ruhr steel kings. It was also attended by former Hitler "leaders of military economics" -- Wehrwirtschaftsfuehrer -- and representatives of the Bonn government headed by Dr. Lehr, at that time occupying the post of Minister of Internal Affairs. Over two hundred guests assembled at Landsberg Castle.

What took place there on that day, 8 February 1953? The remains of August Thyssen, who had died in Buenos Aires and who had been head of the great German steel trust Vereinigte Stahlwerke were being entombed in the castle mausoleum. That is how the society news reported this assemblage. But if one judges by other information, the two hundred gentry gathered in Landsberg Castle for a reason far different from that of merely kissing the relics of their master, who died in remote Argentina. The ceremony of Thyssen's funeral was merely a seemly pretext for the Ruhr kings and the still armed Nazis to discuss matters far more important than the obsequies.

Information which leaked out in the press showed that a program of action for resurgent German imperialism was discussed at Landsberg Castle. The newspapers could not fail to notice a remarkable coincidence. The membership of the group which assembled in the castle was almost the same which worked out the plans for the transfer of power to the Nazis in 1932 at a conference in Dusseldorf with the participation of Hitler. Krupp, Flick, Dinkelbach, Stinnes, Papen -- all these faces were familiar.

The events which developed after the gathering at Landsberg show that this time a plot was again hatched against the German people and their vital interests. The rebirth of the Wehrmacht and the general staff of this wasp's nest of Prussian militarism, the banning of the Communist

Party of Germany, the persecution of democratic forces, wild plans for establishing a "Teutonic Empire" from the Straits of Dover to the Urals -- such are the new stages on the old route which the myth-makers of the twentieth century are dreaming of taking again.

But today, in the second half of the twentieth century, new winds are blowing at the old international crossroads. These winds are strong enough to disperse the smoke swirling over the smithy of war.

The War-Criminal Company

A. Galkin

Early in the summer of 1955 an epidemic of typhus suddenly broke out. The first signs of the epidemic were noted in the center of the Ruhr, in the city of Hagen and the surrounding area. More than fifteen hundred cases were reported.

Typhus occurs rarely in West Germany; a typhus epidemic in peacetime is quite exceptional. The physicians undertook urgent investigations to determine the source of the infection. The evidence led them to the laboratory of the chemical factory in Wuppertal-Elberfeld. It developed that for several years, at the order of the management of I. G. Farben, typhus microbes were being cultivated. What for? There was one answer -- for war, for new crimes against the peoples.

The German chemical company, I. G. Farben, is one of the monopolies which is preparing an imperialistic predatory war and helping to conduct it.

The letters "I. G." in its name mean, in translation from the German, "community of interest". The history of this company shows what kind of a "community" it is and what interests it has. They are the interest of predatory German monopoly capital, and the community is born of a joint striving towards enslaving and robbing not only the German people but also the peoples of other countries.

When, in 1947, the trial at Nuremburg of twenty-three leaders of this firm began, the indictment in their case made up a whole library. One after another of these documents were read at this trial. They unmasked the company in the preparation of the imperialistic war, the robbery of whole countries and the enslavement of hundreds of thousands of people. I. G. Farben stood exposed before the whole world in all its ugly nakedness.

Even among large monopolies, the I. G. Farben is outstanding because of its unprecedented size. On the eve of World War II, the company had 177 plants in Germany; 200 plants abroad were owned by it or were under its control. In central Europe it had practically no competitors. It manufactured everything, from dyes to nitroglycerin and Lewisite. Of the 43 major chemical products produced by the company, 28 played a decisive role in supplying the army, air force and navy. I. G. Farben developed a system of producing synthetic liquid fuel for aircraft and tanks, and achieved the production of a most important type of strategic raw material, synthetic rubber.

With its vast financial resources, I. G. Farben played a decisive role in Germany's political life. Everything that took place in the country depended in a large part upon its will. Together with the steel trust Vereinigte Stahlwerke, the magnates of I. G. Farben brought German Fascism to power.

"... We hope that our words spoken today will be converted into reality, and that a powerful man will be found who will create a general platform for everyone ... for such a man is always necessary for us Germans, as Bismarck was necessary in his own time."

This was said at the beginning of the 1930's by the head of the company, Duisberg. Soon the "powerful man" was found. His name was Adolf Hitler. He was supplied with money to maintain armed detachments and to conduct election propaganda. Among those who gave him these funds, one of the most generous was the I. G. Farben. Its first contribution to the treasury of Fascism amounted to 300,000 marks.

It is not surprising that, when he became "chief of state", Hitler did everything that the company found necessary. I. G. Farben was advanced enormous credits -- billions of gold marks. The general manager of the company, Krauch, received a high position in the Economics Ministry. The largest stockholder in the company, Bosch, was appointed to the Armaments Council. Using the government of Fascist Germany for their own interests, they obtained military orders for the company. The war in Europe was prepared and started at the order of the monopolies, among which I. G. Farben occupied a leading position.

When Hitler invaded the Sudetenland, the management of I. G. Farben sent him the following telegram: "Deeply moved by the return of the Sudeten German territory to the Reich ... the I. G. Farben Company places at your disposal half a million Reichsmarks". The transaction was a profitable one; the half a million brought in enormous profits.

I. G. Farben, its managers and employees fully supported and approved Nazi aggression against Poland, Czechoslovakia and France. I. G. Farben "received great gains from these conquests", a member of the board of the company, Kupper, acknowledged under questioning. In the occupied countries, the I. G. Farben company seized stock, plants, and trusts.

In Austria, after its seizure, the company "pocketed" the chemical trust Pulverfabrik Skoda-Werke Wetzler. This operation was carried out by the director of the Foreign Branch of the company -- its "minister of foreign affairs", Max Ilgner.

In Czechoslovakia, I. G. Farben swallowed the company Aussiger Verein, the fourth largest chemical company in Europe. The robbery was carried out by the managers Kugler and Wurster. In France, I. G. Farben laid its hand upon the Kuhlmann, Saint-Denis and Saint-Clair-du-Rhone companies. One of the magnates I. G. F., von Schnitzler, played the decisive role here.

By the end of the war, the I. G. Farben company included 380 German firms and 500 foreign companies. It was capitalized at not less than six billion marks.

The stockholders' profits were accumulated upon the bones of millions of people. Slaves from the East worked in its factories and plants. They were forced to work with tremendous effort. When some of them died, other doomed persons were driven in to take their place.

In its quest for cheap labor, the company established its plants directly in the death camps. One of the plants was located in Oswiecim. The prisoners working there served as the subjects of brutal experiments. In its laboratories was created one of the most powerful toxic substances -- the death-dealing gas "tabun". To determine the effectiveness of this gas, the company's management ordered that it be tested upon the prisoners in the camp.

Dr. Fritz ter Meer, a member of the management of I. G. F., was later asked whether it was possible to defend performing these experiments upon living people. Ter Meer explained in cold blood that it made no difference to the prisoners what they died from -- from beating or from gas.

The company was directed by a small group of administrators and large stockholders. It was called the "council of the gods". After the defeat of Fascism, this "council" was put on trial.

The list of the defendants included some persons known to the whole world: Hermann Schmitz -- chairman of the board of I. G. Farben and successor to its deceased head, Duisberg; his nephew, Max Ilgner, member of the board and financial director, head of the I. G. Farben's spy network abroad, the organizer of the seizure of foreign enterprises, inveterate Fascist, bosom friend of Goebbels; Hoerlein, member of the board of the company -- organizer of the production of poison gas, immediately responsible for the death of hundreds of prisoners used in the brutal experiments; Otto Ambros, member of the board, Chief of the Toxic Substances Branch of the Nazi Ministry of Armaments, and Director of the I. G. Farben plant in Oswiecim. Behind these "leaders" came Fritz ter Meer, Butefisch, Gattineau, Gajewski, directors, managers, consultants, and so forth.

The defendants' guilt was proven in the trial with great completeness. The peoples expected that they would be given severe sentences. But they were deceived in their expectations.

"The council of the gods" had nothing to fear -- because it was tried by an American military tribunal. All the defendants were found not guilty.

Formally, the I. G. Farben company was reorganized and broken up into its component parts. The most important of these were Farbenfabriken Bayer in Leverkusen, Farbwerke Hoechst in Hoechst, Badische Anilin- und Sodafabrik in Ludwigshaven. But the company's reorganization was carried out so that its owners suffered no losses. The I. G. Farben shares which were in the hands of large shareholders were exchanged for stock of the new companies. The managership of the plants was transferred to "reliable hands". The old directors moved from the defendants' bench directly to armchairs in the managements of new companies.

How is this to be explained? By the role of the American and British monopolies. For them, I. G. Farben was a business brother. Its cartel ties with British and American trusts were always exceptionally close. These ties explain the fact that at the end of the war, as a result of the highly advertised American and British bombings, only 15 per cent of the synthetic rubber production capacity of I. G. Farben was destroyed, and only ten per cent of its production capacity for explosives.

The intertwining of American and German monopoly capital can clearly be seen from the example of the I. G. Farben company. The company owned forty per cent of the shares of the Ford Motor Company in Germany. Its management included the chairman of the board of I. G. Farben, Carl Bosch. The son of the founder of the automobile empire, Henry Ford, became a member of the board of directors of the American branch of I. G. F. Edsel Ford, which was given the name American I. G.

Through its Swiss branch -- the I. G. Chemie -- the German chemical octopus owned the large chemical company General Aniline and Film Corporation in America. The Rockefeller oil company, Standard Oil of New Jersey, which at one time supplied about half the German oil market, had a cartel agreement with I. G. Farben. The management of this company's branch in the United States -- American I. G. -- included Walter Teagle, Chairman of the Board of Standard Oil and the New York banker P. Warburg. In addition, two special companies -- Standard I. G. and Jasco -- were established in the United States on the basis of an agreement between Standard Oil and I. G. F. In October, 1939, after the war in Europe had begun, a representative of Standard Oil, a certain Howard, came to a special conference in Europe to find means of carrying out the cartel agreement between I. G. Farben and Standard Oil under wartime conditions. The conference, which took place in Holland, ended in full agreement. As Howard stated later, the representatives of the American trust came to an agreement with the representatives of the German chemical concern on the division of the profits after the war.

I. G. Farben had close cartel ties ever since 1932 with the largest British monopoly, the Imperial Chemical Industries.

The years since the breaking up of I. G. Farben represented a period of new upsurge for this giant chemical company. "A new page has been written in the history of I. G. Farben" stated the West German economic weekly Volkswirt in the middle of 1955. By that time the successor-companies to I. G. Farben and the firms subordinate to them possessed over 85 per cent of all the stock in the chemical industry of the Federal Republic of Germany. Each year this chemical company is expanding in domestic and foreign markets. The volume of production has grown significantly. In 1945 only 800 workers remained at the plants of the Badische Anilin-und Sodafabrik, the largest component part of I. G. Farben. In 1951 it had reached its pre-war magnitude in the size of its labor force -- 26,500 workers. In August 1955, according to official figures, there were as many as 36,000 workers. More than 36,500 persons are now working in the plants of Farbenfabriken Bayer and over 28,000 in the enterprises of Farbwerke Hoechst.

Official prospectuses claim that I. G. Farben in its present stage is interested only in peaceful production. But even in the FRG nobody believes these statements. As far back as 1948, the explosion which took place at the I. G. Farben plants in Ludwigshafen revealed one of the company's secrets. In violation of existing laws, the company was even then producing fuel for military rockets. Since the Ludwigshafen explosion, military production at I. G. Farben plants has developed on a significant scale. Demolition explosives are again being produced by the Dynamit A. G. plants of the I. G. Farben group. A factory manufacturing phosphorus for incendiary projectiles has been built in Hoechst. I. G. Farben was one of the initiators of the West German association for financing atomic research.

Hundreds of specialists are creating new types of war materials in the I. G. Farben laboratories. Three hundred million marks are spent annually for this purpose in Hoechst. In Leverkusen, 1,400 research engineers are doing such work at the Farbenfabriken Bayer. "If some sceptics claimed," wrote the bourgeois Frankfurter Allgemeine in the middle of 1955, "that the separate fragmented companies would not be able to attain the research level that was characteristic of the old I. G. Farben company, such doubts have now long since passed."

Time has effected some changes in the personnel of the management of the concern. But one can still meet persons in high positions closely allied with the recent past. The chairman of the board of Badische Anilin-und Sodafabrik is the same Wurster who robbed the Czech factories. Otto Ambros, well remembered by the prisoners of Oswiecim, has a position in the inspection council of the Trostberg Hydrogen Plants. Ter Meer is representing I. G. Farben on the board of one of the largest West German banks.

From the very first day of the supposed splitting up of the company, the successors of I. G. Farben have in reality acted jointly. The "council of the gods" has been established again. As in earlier times, it has considerable influence in determining the policies of West Germany. "When an industrial group controlling a production capacity worth over ten billion marks," said Industriekurier, the newspaper of West German industrial circles, "is making its economic and political demands, there is every reason to study them with especial attention."

The nature of these demands is shown by the policy of the present ruling circles of the FRG, who have converted West Germany into a major bulwark of the "cold war" in Europe and into a breeding ground for militarism and the desire for revenge.

The Generals Return

O. Nakropin and
D. Mel'nikov

The last German Kaiser, Wilhelm II, once said: "I shall order that a revolver and a sabre be placed in the cradle of every small boy so that future soldiers will become accustomed to their trade from their earliest age."

In a figurative sense it can be said that this did take place on the estates of the landlords and junkers in families which, from generation to generation, provided officers for the Prussian, and later the German, army. Portraits of grandfathers and great-grandfathers in uniform and wearing decorations such as those of the Franco-Prussian War or for helping crush the 1848 revolution, family relics, weapon collections in fathers' studies, customs and amusements of elders -- the whole environment and the entire manner of life from childhood here trained the future member of the Prusso-German officer caste, who would smugly and haughtily scorn all that was not military. Bismarck had the scions of such families in mind when he said: "We Prussians are all born in uniform".

In such a way, "in uniform", were born the majority of those who now head the west German bundeswehr. Their youth was spent in the last years of the Hohenzollern dynasty. As boys, the future generals heard the adults exchanging reminiscences of the victories of German arms at Koniggratz or Sedan, and enthusiastically recounting the bloody exploits of the German Expeditionary Corps in China which dealt with the Boxer Rebellion of 1899 - 1901.

As time went by, the toy sabre was replaced with a real one.

* * *

For Adolf Heusinger this moment came when he was seventeen years old. Today he can say that his life was not lived in vain. The Heusinger of 1957 is a Lieutenant General, chairman of the Main Military Board of the West German War Ministry, a body which is a slightly camouflaged general staff. The general is carrying on the work of famous field marshals; his heels were deemed worthy of the spurs of the great Helmuth von Moltke, the first to head the General Staff of the German Empire.

While Heusinger and boys of his age were still Fahnenjunker with hair only beginning to appear on their upper lip, one of Germany's most outstanding military theoreticians, General Friedrich von Bernhardi, gave them these parting words: "A virile man needs only to glance at a sword, and to ponder its purpose and its frightful action, to convince himself that war by itself is a divine task, as worthy and necessary as food and drink". From that day to this, Adolf Heusinger, so to say, contemplates

the sword with the eyes of a "virile man". The world outlook of today's West German generals was formed under the influence of mentors such as Bernhardt. It was formed in a time when it was announced again and again that the "German mission" was to save the world from all its ills in the atmosphere of chauvinistic intensity and militaristic debauchery which preceded World War I in Germany and accompanied its outbreak.

"The ancestors who have gone before" -- the leading figures among the German militarists, such as Moltke and Schlieffen, and after them Ludendorf Hindenburg and others of their successors of the time of World War I, insisted that the German army by its very nature was destined to conquer all its opponents and that victory would certainly come with lightning speed. Did the future strategist wonder why the idea of a "Cannae" proposed by Schlieffen failed -- this swift movement consisting of the outflanking of the "main army" of the enemy and its destruction in one short battle? Why was it that, after four years of bitter, sanguinary slaughter costing Germany 1,800,000 dead, the "best army in the world" with "the best officer corps in the world" and "unsurpassed" commanders was forced to surrender ignominiously?

Such a question would have been natural not only for the young officer Heusinger. The biographies of the West German generals was similar to one another, and they are all closely tied to the history of German militarism over the past four or five decades. The present Lieutenant General Josef Kammhuber, heading the Aviation Department of the FRG War Ministry, has been in the service since 1916. Vice-Admiral Friedrich Ruge, head of the Naval Department, first put on a uniform in 1914. Hans Rottiger, head of the Infantry Department, was already a senior officer at that time. Hans Speidel, Paul Hermann, Gerhard Matzky, and nearly all the other generals in the West German army, totalling over thirty by the end of 1956, began their careers during World War I. If for no one else, the war's disastrous outcome should have provided these men with ample food for thought. What did it amount to? After the victorious fanfares of the first weeks of the war -- Verdun and Marne, and later Pskov -- instead of a "Cannae" came months and years of trench warfare with all the luxuries of trench life, and finally the bitterness of Compiegne. Did not the young people who so passionately believed in the invincibility of the German sword and the infallibility of their authorities find in this the shattering of all their illusions and a reappraisal of all their values?

No, they did not do so. From the point of view of the German military caste, all this was explained very simply. The army was good. The strategy was above criticism. The prowess of the soldiers had no equal since these soldiers were ourselves. It may be that some mistakes were allowed -- well, let us say, the plans of the genius Schlieffen were not carried out sufficiently punctually, or the "spirit of emulation"

was not sufficiently shown, as Groener, the Minister of the Weimar Republic's Reichswehr later argued, seeking to defend the strategy of the German General Staff. But in the final accounting, this also was immaterial. The main reason for the defeat was that the army, as it turned out, was "stabbed in the back". While they were fighting for "a place in the sun" for Germany, the "vile traitors", "defeatists" and other "seditionaries" were busy undermining all the foundations. In November 1918, they perpetrated in Germany -- just imagine! -- a revolution.

We must give the leaders of the German militarists their due; they quickly adjusted to the new situation. They were preoccupied with only one thought -- whatever else happened, regardless of the military catastrophe, the severe conditions of the armistice and the collapse of the Hohenzollern empire -- to preserve the army, this "supreme gift from Prussia to Germany", as the former Imperial Chancellor, Furst Bulow wrote shortly before the end of the war. The militarists saw the the Kaiser's goose was cooked. And if this was the case, why then, let the Kaiser go -- as long as the generals remained.

Thus, the generals, representatives of the most aristocratic families and for centuries reputed to be the support of the throne, and for whom the rightist Social Democratic leaders like Ebert and Scheidemann were for so long "contemptible Red riff-raff", suddenly shipped the "divine monarch" off into exile and came to an agreement with the new, republican, Social Democratic government. The military units recalled from the front were sent to defend this government and to suppress the revolutionary workers who were demanding that the revolution be carried all the way through and that a truly democratic system be established. The militarists foully murdered Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. Thousands of officers came straight from the army and joined the so-called "free corps", illegal and semilegal organizations which dealt with the revolutionaries in Upper Silesia, Bavaria, and Hamburg. The military clique earned for itself the right to cultivate its traditions with impunity during the Weimar Republic and to prepare as much as it could for a return of the "glorious times".

It was at this point that the real military training of the generals of the present generation began. They underwent it in the holy of holies of German militarism -- in the General Staff, disguised under the title of "Troop Department of the Ministry of the Reichswehr". In the future they were to find extremely valuable the experience which they gained during their years of work under the direction of such outstanding specialists in secret rearmament as General Groener and Field Marshal von Seeckt.

The Treaty of Versailles prohibited Germany from maintaining an army, with the exception of the Reichswehr, composed of volunteers and totalling not more than 100,000 men. It did not permit it to have any aircraft, battleships, heavy artillery, tanks, or armored cars.

Heusinger's superiors and colleagues quickly found ways to circumvent these bans. In 1921, Seeckt, the commander of the Reichswehr, presented in a special memorandum his "basic views on the structure of the armed forces". Each division was to be set up so that it would be possible to double or triple its strength by means of enrolling additional volunteers. Under the conditions of that time, no shortage of volunteers was foreseen; in addition to the official Reichswehr, there existed an illegal "black Reichswehr" which incorporated the volunteer officers' corps. By the time that it was dissolved in 1923, the "black Reichswehr" contained 250,000 persons; after its dissolution, the majority of them joined the storm troops of Hitler and Rohm.

The training of the troops, said Seeckt, should be carried out according to a program whereby forbidden types of armament could be incorporated as soon as an order was given. The Reichswehr was regarded as a nucleus around which a powerful army could be built in a minimum of time, sufficient, as Seeckt wrote, to strike a "direct blow at the heart of the enemy" before the latter was able to complete his mobilization.

Elaboration in detail of these principles, which were essentially nothing but directives on preparing surprise attacks against other countries and on aggressive war, was the concern of the present-day leaders of the Bundeswehr, who were then sitting in various divisions of the Ministry of the Reichswehr and its Troop Department. Heusinger was engaged to work in the camouflaged General Staff in 1927, and Kammhuber in 1928. Also working there were Rottiger, who participated in the secret establishment of armored tank troops, Ruge, who submitted plans for the creation of a large navy, Matzky, the present Major General Laegeler, and a number of others. The members of the German General Staff are described by the British military historian Wheeler-Bennett as "limitlessly ambitious people who knew and did their work excellently, unscrupulous mercenaries and soldiers who were interested in nothing except their careers, power and influence. They were ready to follow anyone as long as he gave them high command posts, gave them a chance for personal advancement, and provided an opportunity for military undertakings. For these shameless adherents of a policy of force, rearmament and the collateral effects of war represented only a basis for their own careers."

* * *

"The opportunity for military undertakings" was provided by Hitler. His coming to power was a welcome event for those who were biding their time in the building on Bendlerstrasse in Berlin, where the highest military establishments of Germany were located. A whole new era opened up in the lives of the future generals, and, what was especially important for their role in the Federal Republic of Germany, during this era they acquired further and higher qualifications. While during the Weimar

Republic they had mastered the art of the secret violation of international treaties, they passed a visual training course under Hitler in the methods of openly and rudely trampling upon such treaties.

The stages by which Hitler violated each and every international agreement are well known. Each of them was preceded by intense and feverish activity in the military staffs. Such of the leaders on Bendlerstrasse who were for some reason unwelcome to the "Fuehrer" were simply eliminated by him; some became the victims of the bloody reprisals of the "Bartholomew's Massacre" of June 30, 1934, such as Generals Schleicher and Bredow, while others were removed without bloodshed, such as Field Marshal Blomberg and General von Fritsch. In any event, the present leaders of the West German Bundeswehr were not among the few representatives of the military circles of Hitler's Germany whose opinion did not fully agree with that of the Nazi high command. With the zeal peculiar to them, they prepared for the introduction of universal military training, which was announced in March 1935, prepared the introduction of troops into the Rhine demilitarized zone in the spring of 1936, established a million-man Wehrmacht, prepared measures to aid the Franco rebels in Spain, and worked out plans for the annexation of Austria in 1938 and the seizure of Czechoslovakia in 1939. They were preparing World War II.

For the "unscrupulous hirelings", each stage of Hitler's aggression meant new titles and medals, new command posts, further steps in their careers, an increase in authority and a broadening of influence. Lieutenant colonels became colonels, and colonels became generals. The wildest dreams came true. A festive occasion took place on Bendlerstrasse in the summer of 1935; Hitler, continuing to violate the Treaty of Versailles, officially reestablished the General Staff. Heusinger became "his excellency"; he was a senior officer and soon chief of the Operations Branch of the Main Infantry Command. It was here, in his division, that the plans were worked out for the invasion of Poland, Belgium, France, Holland, Denmark and Norway. The notorious "Barbarossa plan" was worked out under his immediate supervision. "Lieutenant General Heusinger was indispensable to the Fuehrer," was the comment on the present chairman of the FRG's Main Military Board made by General Zeitzler, former Chief of Hitler's General Staff.

The same could be said of his colleagues. The aviator Kammhuber proved to be truly invaluable as chief of staff for Hermann Goering, who was reckoned the supreme commander of the Air Force of Nazi Germany. It was this same Kammhuber who drew up the order to bomb Warsaw in September, 1939. In May of the following year, he was given an assignment of particularly high trust. The bigwigs of the Nazi Reich needed to find a pretext for terroristic air attacks on cities in Great Britain and France. However, enemy aircraft were not even appearing over Germany. What could be done to avoid the blame for launching aerial attacks against the peaceful

population? A way out was found with Kammhuber's assistance. The Chief of Staff of the Supreme Commander of Germany's Air Forces ordered the Third Group of the 51st Bomber Squadron to carry out a raid on -- the German city of Freiburg. On May 11, the order was carried out. The population was told that the bombs were dropped on Freiburg by British aircraft, and the Goebbels propaganda machine received the opportunity to describe the destruction of British cities as "revenge".

At present, the leaders of the North Atlantic Bloc and its armed forces, which includes the West German Bundeswehr, value especially highly the "eastern experience" of the German generals. It is possible that the fact that they were defeated by the Soviet Army is considered a guarantee of future victories. However, one point cannot be doubted: the significance given to "eastern experience" in the higher echelons of NATO proves one thing. It gives away the true aims of this aggressive grouping.

The experience which the Hitlerite generals gained in the East has some unusual features.

Soon after Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union, Rottiger was appointed Chief of Staff of the 4th Army, on the Soviet-German front. Later, when he was examined at the Nuremberg trial of Hitler generals, he stated: "According to the orders given in line of duty, only a few prisoners were taken." Rottiger continued: "In the course of carrying out my duties I had several occasions to wage warfare against bombs," that is, to deal with partisans. Later, beginning in the fall of 1943, General Rottiger continued carrying out the same duties in Italy, where he turned up in the post of Chief of Staff of Army Group "C".

The military command of Hitler Germany, whose representatives are now commanding the Bundeswehr, conscientiously helped the Himmler thugs of the SS and the "security service" to decimate the population of temporarily occupied areas. "Heusinger readily agreed to transfer to the 'security service' some military units to reduce the Slavic and Jewish population," SS Brigadefuhrer Ernst Rode has testified. "I always have felt personally," Heusinger himself stated at the same trial in Nuremberg in December 1945, "that the methods of treating the civil population and of fighting the bands (read this as "partisans") in the operations zone provided the highest political and military command with a long sought opportunity to realize its aims, to reduce systematically the Slavic and Jewish people." When Robert Kempner, the chief American prosecutor at this trial, wanted to clarify what the word "always" meant and asked Heusinger to specify the time that he first began to have this point of view, Heusinger replied without hesitation: "Since the fall of 1942". In other words, Heusinger definitely came to his conclusion on the "desirability" of exterminating the population of the Soviet Union at the time that the Hitler hordes were rushing toward the Volga and the

and the gentlemen of the Bendlerstrasse (although their information did not come from Goebbels' articles, according to which the Soviet Army no longer existed, but from more trustworthy sources) thought that this time they had really gained the victory.

The Bundeswehr's generals also have another kind of experience, which is very important to the NATO leaders. This is experience in dealing with recalcitrants. This is especially important for them now because the resistance of the masses to aggressive plans is growing everywhere in the world. For these leaders it is essential that the Bundeswehr be commanded by persons capable of shooting and hanging even their own fellow-countrymen. The present-day West German generals proved that they had such ability even in their youth, when they participated in crushing the November Revolution. They demonstrated it amply under Hitler.

At the beginning of 1957, General Walter Werck was proposed as the Bundeswehr's commander. In the early days of the war, when Werck was on the staff of Guderian's tank army invading France, he succeeded in having four German officers courtmartialled because their "unduly mild handling of the civil population put the further advance of the German forces into jeopardy." During the last years of the "thousand-year Reich", Werck, who had by then entered the inner circles around Himmler and Hitler, drove fifteen to seventeen year-old boys into battle after he had recruited them into "Hitler Youth" organizations and labor conscription camps at the time the notorious Twelfth Army was being formed. This army was ordered to perform a miracle -- to break into Berlin through the circle of Soviet forces surrounding it in order to save the "Fuehrer" and the other residents of the cellar of the Imperial Chancellery. When the miracle failed to take place, General Werck abandoned the boys who were still alive and whom he could not take along and left them to find their own way out, while he himself surrendered to the Americans. It was not without reason that it was pointed out, when Werck was proposed for the new position, that he would be able to "carry out the necessary firm policy in creating the Bundeswehr and training of the troops". He was "the best person in case the Bundeswehr were unexpectedly called upon to carry out actions in internal affairs, which was within the realm of possibility" -- such was the description given him by the person who nominated him.

Paul Hermann and Gerhard Matzky are noted for the same "firmness". At the very end of the war, the former, with his 264th Infantry Division, and the latter, heading the 26th Army Corps, were pinned against the sea by the Soviet Army in the Baltic Area. Before abandoning their troops to their fate and fleeing to the West, they executed for "cowardice" and "desire to surrender" dozens of soldiers and officers of a force which was in a hopeless situation.

General Hans Speidel is considered to be one of the most active of the West German military commanders. When the "Main Military Board" was being established in the Bonn War Ministry, he was assigned the especially responsible position of Chief of the Combined Forces Division, coordinating the activities of all types of troops. "A general of a new type", as Speidel is called in western military circles, he has an origin and biography slightly different from those of most of his colleagues. Instead of wearing a military uniform, his father wore the gown of a scholar. He was a professor at the University of Tübingen, one of those who falsified science, altering it to support German imperialism's claims to domination over the world. Evidently, the family tradition of "humanitarianism" left its mark on the character and interests of the young man. It is true that Hans Speidel at the age of seventeen also enrolled as a volunteer in one of the Kaiser's Guard Regiments, and that after World War I he also served in the Reichswehr. But in contrast to many of co-workers, he, so to speak, was not a stranger to education. Reichswehr officer Speidel spent his free time in the halls of the same university in which Professor Speidel taught. In 1925, he defended his thesis and became a Doctor of Philosophy.

Dr. Speidel set out to travel. He wandered about the halls of the Louvre, contemplated the beauties of nature in Switzerland and the magnificent ruins of the Colosseum, went across the Straits of Dover and crossed the Atlantic Ocean. In 1933, the new Nazi government decided that the well-travelled officer was suitable for work abroad; Speidel was appointed Assistant Military Attache in Paris. His real career began two years later; Speidel left the banks of the Seine to head the "Foreign Armies of the West" Branch in the supreme headquarters of the German armed forces, or, in other words, to undertake the direction of military espionage against the present allies of the FRG in NATO. In 1940 he again appeared in France -- this time as Chief of Staff of Hitler's occupation forces. Now he prepared orders "in line of duty" to shoot French hostages and to deport peaceful residents to the Himmler death camps. General Speidel also has some "eastern experience"; it was he who initiated the "scorched earth" tactics during the retreat of the Hitler forces in the Ukraine.

The leaders of the North Atlantic Alliance had these varied gifts of Hans Speidel in mind when, early in 1957, they appointed him commander of the central grouping of the NATO Armed Forces in Europe.

* * *

In 1945, the generals fell upon hard times. For ten years they had no titles, and at first even preferred not to mention that they had been generals. They undertook in every way to wash the brown off their shoulders.

It is true that the United States ruling circles from the very first showed their unreserved good will towards the German militarists. But the Nazi atrocities were still too fresh in people's minds to permit them to ally themselves openly with those directly guilty of war crimes. A few representatives of the Hitler militarists were even jailed, although they were arrested not for reasons of punishment, but to hide them temporarily in a safe place. The prisons were like first-class hotels. The sentries who were required to guard the prisoners stood before them at attention and when they were asked a question they snapped out: "Yes, Sir, Herr Feldmarschall!" -- such was the report of the correspondent of an Italian newspaper who visited such a "prison" in the West German resort village of Werl, where the British occupation authorities were keeping military criminals.

Those who remained free became quiet. Werck, soon released from an American prison, preferred, like many others, to go as far as possible, to Argentina. Speidel told everyone who would listen to him that he desired nothing more than to return to "pure science". The generals found jobs in trade and industrial companies.

Nearly all the generals -- those who found themselves in prison-hotels and those who were left free -- had something in common: a sudden development of a taste for creative writing. Some sat down at their desks at the request of the American War Department, while others did so at their own initiative.

"Disagreement with orders" -- such was the significant title which Heusinger gave his memoirs. You see, he did not agree with Hitler. Furthermore, he considered his policy and strategy incorrect; he even supposedly participated in a plot against Hitler.

In 1943 and 1944, after the defeat of the Hitlerite armies at Stalingrad, certain outstanding representatives of the German generals were not able to conceal their concern over what would happen next. A group of higher officers plotted against Hitler with the aim of getting rid of him and, after replacing him with somebody more acceptable to the Western allies, forming an alliance with the allies to continue a joint war against the USSR. In particular, Speidel, in one of his post-war writings, writes straightforwardly of the existence of the idea of "beginning peace negotiations with the West and continuing the war against Russia on a shorter front". The present agreement between the Western imperialists and the German militarists has its origins in those times.

On 20 July 1944 an attempt was made upon Hitler's life. It failed. The plotters were seized and many of them were executed. Adolf Heusinger was also arrested. He "plays up" this arrest in his book in

every way. But he "modestly" fails to mention another fact -- that in a short time he was released as not having participated in the attempt, and the Gestapo sent him its apologies.

By the way, even if some of the West German generals at one time, at the end of the war, did conspire against Hitler, they did this for one reason only -- that Hitler had not lived up to the hopes of the militarists. Today, in accepting the protection of the western powers, the generals are expecting that it will aid them in attaining the goals that they were not able to reach while supporting Hitler. The entire careers of Heusinger and his colleagues show their lies when they try to describe their "disagreement" with Nazi atrocities, Hitler war crimes, and the policy of exterminating and enslaving entire peoples. He "served neither his country nor Germany; up until the very time that Hitler began to slip, he served National Socialism well." This statement, applicable to any one of the generals, was made concerning Speidel by the famous French public leader Frederic Manhes -- former commander of an underground liberation brigade created by Buchenwald prisoners, and now president of the International Union of Freedom Fighters.

The generals' misfortune is that they happened to take up the pen not only after 1945, but before as well. Now they cannot wipe out a word of it, although some today doubtless wish that the literary "sins of their youth" no longer existed. The FRG's representative at the headquarters of the NATO Armed Forces in Paris is Brigadier General Count Kielmansegg. In 1941, when he was a colonel, he wrote a book "Tanks Between Warsaw and the Atlantic", which was issued by the "Wehrmacht" Publishing House. When he was marching with Hitler's troops across France, destroying everything in his way, he "felt like a thoroughbred racehorse", wrote the honored count, using a rather striking, and possibly apt, metaphor. At that time he was inspired by only one thought: "the German sword has been drawn to strike a deadly blow at France". "We report that we have completely carried out the task laid upon us by history, Germany, and the Fuhrer. ... And the gratitude of no one can give us as much pride as the gratitude of the Fuhrer" -- with these moving words Kielmansegg closes his account.

General Hermann Foertsch has been entrusted by the NATO leaders with writing the section on the West German Bundeswehr in an illustrated propaganda book on this aggressive union, publication of which is planned in several languages. They knew to whom they were giving this assignment. Foertsch is no novice at such undertakings. For quite a long time he headed the Press Branch of the Supreme Command of the German Wehrmacht. From his pen came such treatises as "Instructions on the duties of an officer devoted to Hitler" or "The Fuhrer and the armed forces". "There is no room among the officers of the new German Armed Forces for anyone who does not support our National Socialist Government with all his heart or for anyone who is indifferent to, or especially anyone who disapproves of,

this Government or the philosophy which created it and permeates it" -- Foertsch proclaimed. At that time he was merely a colonel, but now he has found himself a place among the generals of the West German Armed Forces.

The "difficult times" did not last long. For those who are interested in further military adventures, the double-dyed Nazi past of the Hitlerite generals and their experience in launching aggression and participating in war crimes is not an obstacle to giving them weapons, but rather increases their value. In 1932, when Hitler explained his program at a conference of the biggest industrialists of Germany and promised them military orders unprecedented in history, one of those present, the steel magnate Fritz Thyssen, cried out "Heil Hitler!" Today the monopolists of West Germany, the United States and other imperialistic states are counting upon the German militarists to provide them with unheard-of military profits. As far back as 1951, the American newspaper Chicago Daily News wrote: "Give us the West German divisions and we shall not ask any questions; this is our position."

The twelfth of November 1955, was a big day for the generals; with solemn ceremonies the first group of servicemen of the new West German Army was sworn in at the War Ministry building in Bonn, which was ornamented with a representation of the Iron Cross, the emblem of the German militarists. There were only a few in the first group, 101 in all. But the first step is the hardest. Early in 1956, the size of the Bundeswehr had risen to 6,000, and by the summer of 1957 it numbered 100,000.

At first glance this is not very large, either. For some time, the circles determining West German military policy have been trying in every way possible to convince the public that they do not really want a large army. In October 1956, the first Defense Minister of the FRG, Theodor Blank, was even forced to resign because he had comprised himself by his actions, which were too evidently directed towards developing armed forces with millions of men. He was replaced by Franz-Josef Strauss, who declared himself in favor of a "small professional army" which should consist basically of officers and non-commissioned officers. Such a plan promises many benefits to the West German militarists. It has a remarkable resemblance to the plan prepared by Seeckt during the Weimar Republic -- the plan of creating a "nucleus" around which a vast powerful army could be developed at any moment. The Bundeswehr's leaders have made this task easier for themselves by establishing a relatively short term of military service. This will permit them to provide military training for a maximum number of people during the first few years, thus creating a vast reserve.

But the "Strauss plan" has another, more essential, feature. It is primarily a plan to arm the Bundeswehr with atomic weapons. It was no coincidence that Strauss was Minister of Atomic Energy before he was

appointed War Minister. It was also no coincidence that he was replaced in the former post by Balke, one of the kings of the West German chemical industry, the vice-president of a manufacturers' group in this branch of the economy, and a member of the board of the military chemical company, I. G. Farben.

The beginning of the new War Minister's administration was characterized by negotiations with representatives of the western powers on the immediate arming of the Bundeswehr with "tactical" atomic weapons. Strauss was given a blank check in this regard at the meeting of the NATO Council at the end of December 1956. On his return to Bonn from Paris, Strauss announced for all to hear that atomic weapons would form the basis for the rearmament of the German Federal Republic. His rapture at this accomplishment was so great that he mentally began to convert Europe into an atomic desert. In particular, he announced that atomic weapons in the hands of the western powers would make it possible to wipe the Soviet Union off the face of the earth. There have been cases known in Germany's history when its imperialistic bosses not only made threats upon the Soviet Union, but also tried to carry out these threats. It is also known what this led to -- that German territory was turned into a "desert" after the country had been plunged into catastrophe. After this, why talk about atomic war? For Germany this will inevitably mean a catastrophe not at all comparable with any of the earlier ones.

How are the characteristics of the new West German Army being established? This is done primarily by its command personnel. As we have already seen, General Heusinger, commanding the Reichswehr, had worked on preparing operational plans for Hitler's aggression against both the East and the West. He has forgotten nothing and has learned nothing. As far back as the fall of 1953, Heusinger stated on the pages of the journal, Bonner Hefte, that the slogan of the armed forces being reborn in West Germany would be: "Advance anywhere that there is the opportunity." The tactics of the "Main Military Board" of the FRG are those of a blitzkrieg. They were also formulated by Heusinger. While visiting the United States in 1956, as reported by the New York Times, he stated that it was necessary, "by causing incidents at various points on the West German frontiers", to create an excuse to undertake "reprisal measures" which "should be successfully completed in two or three weeks". Kammhuber is even more "optimistic"; in his opinion, "the outcome of the war for all practical purposes will be decided during the first four days".

The West German army is being planned, of course, primarily as an army of aggression against the Soviet Union and the other countries in the socialist camp. The entire ideology of a "crusade against Communism" has been accepted for the arming of the Bundeswehr. The desire for revenge is also being stimulated by a turbid flow of books and articles from the pens of Hitler's generals, by their tales of the charms of life on occupied territories, and by numerous pamphlets and articles describing

how delightful atomic warfare is, and even by arithmetic problems in school books. Ruge, remembering the exploits he performed while close to Doenitz, is demanding the conversion of the Baltic Sea into a base for operations. The West German journal of military theory, Wehrkunde, edited by the former General Staff members Kammhuber and Ruge, declares that all means are good in "the struggle against the East" and that there is no difference between "legal" and "illegal" methods of waging war.

In describing the careers of the West German generals, some military theoreticians of Great Britain and France, as well as of the United States -- for example, Fuller, Liddell Hart, or Wheeler-Bennett -- note only one part of their "military experience", namely, their "eastern experience". They are silent concerning the other side of their activities, such as, for example, that Heusinger prepared not only the "Barbarossa plan", but also the "green", "yellow", "white" and other plans of Hitler's General Staff, according to which the first blows were to be directed not against the East, but against the West. As for Speidel, this general, with "experience" gained in the North Caucasus and the Ukraine, was again transferred to France, where he was Chief of Staff of the Western Group of Hitler's forces, and Kammhuber, as we have seen, was one of the organizers of the terroristic air attacks against Great Britain. That the "eastern experience" has not been forgotten is shown, for example, by the following statement made by Strauss, which appeared in the press throughout the world: "The road to the German East leads through Paris ..."

The West German generals proudly tell of their adherence to the "old traditions". The traditions of German militarism are well known. They consist of preparing aggression everywhere, in Heusinger's words, "there is the opportunity". The re-arming of West Germany is creating a danger spot again in central Europe which represents a threat to the peace and security of all the peoples of Europe. This is why the struggle against the rebirth of German militarism is a struggle for the preservation of peace in Europe.

The German militarists are undoubtedly masters of both "eastern" and "western" and various other kinds of experience in launching aggressive wars. But there is one kind of experience which they do not wish to take into account. They are stubbornly ignoring the lessons of history. However, history moves forward, and today the situation in Europe and the whole world is radically different from that in which the first and second world wars broke out. And if the militarists are forgetting this, the peoples understand this very well. The unity of the forces for peace, their solidarity, and the decisiveness of their actions is a warranty that the sinister new plans of German militarism will end in failure.

Leader of the German Revenge-Seekers

A. Galkin

A man with a stone face and long, equine teeth, casually leaning against the railing, stands on the platform and, wearing a tired, bored expression, watches the ranks marching before him. From time to time he phlegmatically raises his hand in response to cries of greeting. His face has the contemptuous smile of an important man who is accustomed to praise. His black civilian suit fits him closely, like a military uniform.

At the base of the platform, masses of people are milling about. Gray uniforms. New squeaking leather straps. Gay cockades. Haughty and evil faces. "Hoch!" "Heil!" The Fascist hymn rings out, "Today Germany is ours, tomorrow the whole world". Lebensraum! Advance!

What is this? The Fascist putsch of 1923? The burning of the Reichstag in 1933? A Nazi meeting in Hitler's Sportpalast?

No! This is 1956. It is the Federal Republic of Germany, a routine assembly of the "Steel Helmet". Hitler and Goering are not on the platform; they are long since dead. But the man in the black suit was their associate. He worked with them to establish the aggressive imperialistic Wehrmacht. With them he prepared for war. Now he is again an "outstanding personality". He is the honorary president of the "Steel Helmet". Over 100,000 soldiers of this union have given him their oath.

This man's name is Albert Kesselring -- a retired Hitlerite Field Marshal.

The West German neo-Fascists have proclaimed Kesselring a model "German soldier". This doubtful praise did not come to him without reason. Kesselring's path to the "heights" is marked by heaps of corpses. Western Europe refers to him with burning and just indignation. When they hear his name, the Italians turn white with rage. They well remember the times when his orders were posted in Rome and Milan, in their cities and villages. Their style was laconic: death, death, death.

Not far from ancient Rome is a grotto of white tufa. At one time, tourists liked to visit it. Kesselring's aides made the grotto a place of execution. At his order, 335 Italians were shot here. Their "guilt" was that they fell into the hands of their executioners.

There are many such crimes on the conscience of the retired Field Marshal: 48 shot in Fondo Toce, 54 hanged at Trieste, 107 inhabitants of Valle killed, 560 victims in Santa Anna di Stazzema, 1,830 old men and women tortured at Marzabotto. Cruelty was the driving force of his career. A professional soldier, he grew up along with the Reichswehr.

It was in the 1920's. The German militarists were secretly rearming. The army of professionals was changing into a vast armed force. The preparations for the establishment of the German air force was going on. In 1924, Junkers began the production of military aircraft. In 1925, the first military air group was founded under the name "Aerial defense."

The unscrupulous and unprincipled officer had every means for advancement. He climbed up the steps of a grand career in a majestic march. At first he worked together with General von Seeckt. Then the forerunner of Hitler, the Fascist general Schleicher, became his chief. Kesselring reacted to the Hitler revolution of 1933 with enthusiasm, for the Nazi had proclaimed a policy of brute military force and were openly talking about revenge. This meant that he would have an opportunity to apply his "abilities" ...

After 1933, Kesselring's advancement proceeded even more successfully. The ambitious careerist was supported by his old friend Goering, who found himself at the helm of power. "The Fuhrer himself" takes note of him. In September 1933, he was still only a colonel. Six years later, he was commander of the First German Air Force, and two years after that he became a Field Marshal.

In his book, "Soldier to the End", Kesselring boasted of the trust that Hitler put in him. According to his own words, this trust was "wonderful". Hitler had every basis for this. He knew that the careerist officer would undertake any crime at his order.

Kesselring was one of the creators of the theory of total air war. The meaning of this theory was explained in an instruction report he released to his airmen:

"While circling over the enemy's cities and fields, you must crush any feelings you may have within you. You must say to yourselves, 'These people are not human beings, since this term applies only to Germans.' For the First German Air Force here are no so-called non-military targets, or spiritual motives. Enemy countries must be wiped from the face of the earth, and any resistance must be crushed."

In 1936, Spanish cities became the first subjects of the practical application of Kesselring's theory. "This was an excellent opportunity for the tactical and technical testing of our air force", the Hitlerite Field Marshal cynically wrote later. Then it was the turn of the British capital. The aerial armada commanded by Kesselring undertook the "Battle of Britain". One of his books includes a photograph from this period: Goering and Kesselring are accompanying the first group of aircraft flying their deadly freight to London. Both have satisfied grins on their faces. "I shall wipe the British cities off the face of the earth," Hitler declared at that time.

During the first months of the war against the Soviet Union, Kesselring commanded the air fleet covering the advance of the central group of Fascist forces. The direction of the attack of this group was Minsk-Smolensk-Moscow. Operating in advance of the movement of the Fascist divisions, he sought to convert central Russia into a sea of ruins. Kesselring is immediately responsible for the deaths of thousands of residents of Minsk during the bombardments of June 1941. It was his aircraft that burst upon Moscow during the grim autumn of the first year of the war.

In October 1941, Hitler moved his favorite still another step forward; he appointed him "Supreme Commander of the Military Forces of the South", which amounted in essence to his being Hitler's viceroy in Italy. During the remainder of the war, Kesselring was almost the unlimited master of the German South. But in May, 1945, he surrendered together with his troops ...

May, 1947. Sunny Venice. The ancient law building. On the defendant's bench -- the criminal.

The British Military Court is trying the former Field Marshal Kesselring. The prosecutor is reading a long list of crimes impassively and unhurriedly. The defense lawyer tries to fall back on the rights of an occupying power. The defendant is silent, gloomily staring at the floor. He is afraid that they will see in his look his hatred and scorn, and his regret that he did not kill, destroy or torture enough.

The court solemnly announces the death penalty. It seemed as if justice had triumphed and that the criminal had been condemned.

But in reality mysterious forces behind the scenes stepped in. The American authorities protest; Kesselring may be of value to them. Two weeks go by. Negotiations take place behind the scenes. Finally, it is announced from London that the death penalty has been rescinded. But Kesselring is no longer to be free. He will forever sit behind bars. In October, 1947, the criminal Field Marshal was put into the prison of Werl.

There are various kinds of prisons: some are better and some are worse. The prison where the Field Marshal whiled away his time was a sanitarium-prison. The room was sunny, the door opened into a small garden. There were a doctor, a nurse, a servant and a cook. His food allotment was better than that of the average German. Books, newspapers, paper. And, finally, long leaves on parole. Kesselring spends one such leave at a resort on the shores of Tegernsee, another at the Bavarian resort of Rottach.

The man sentenced to life imprisonment calmly comes and goes as he wishes. The future does not disturb him. He can already see the beginning of the second stage of his career. Publishing houses in eager rivalry propose that he write books. The Bavarian authorities invite him to accept a good place in a government office. And finally the criminal is elected the Honorary President of the "Steel Helmet". In the first announcement of the "Steel Helmet", it is stated that Kesselring's name should become a "guiding star" in the struggle against the East. While still in prison, Kesselring becomes one of the most influential individuals in the Bonn government.

The "Steel Helmet" is not merely a soldier's organization. It is the traditional guard of German imperialists. Established in November 1918, by the manufacturer Seldte, it drenched Germany in the blood of workers. The shootings of 1918, 1919, 1920 and 1923 were the work of the "Steel Helmet".

In 1929, the "Steel Helmet" joined forces with the German Nazi Party. Its military units participated in Hitler's pogroms. Jointly with the storm troops, they smashed labor unions and killed democrats. Then the "Steel Helmet" was merged with the Nazi military units, and the union's leader Seldte became one of Hitler's Reichsministers.

Reborn in 1951 and lavishly provided with contributions from the Ruhr magnates and bankers, the "Steel Helmet" grew like yeast. Its membership soon exceeded a hundred thousand. The Schroeder Bank at Cologne, the German branch of an Anglo-American banking firm and one of the most influential members of the Cologne banking clique, took it under its patronage.

It was clear that the President of a union of this type would not stay in prison for long. That is what happened. A few months after his election, Kesselring was free. In his very first speech he called for educating West German youth in a soldierly spirit, and demanded the establishment of a "regular army of soldiers with war experience in the East".

At one time it was said of the French nobility in exile that they had learned nothing and that they had forgotten nothing. Of Kesselring it may be said that he learned nothing and is trying to forget everything. He wants to forget the days of surrender, imprisonment, and the trial; he also wants to forget the two weeks that he was expecting to be executed. He thinks that he can begin over again.

"My future is in my past", he declared cynically to reporters upon accepting the position of President of the "Steel Helmet". "Is it worth making a fuss over such a trifle as a couple of executed civilians?" he said with a smirk when reminded about his atrocities.

"The only thing I fear is the rebuke of history that I did not make full use of the tactical capabilities of our army because of too great a feeling of humanity", he insolently declared at a "Steel Helmet" meeting.

The present plans of the retired Field Marshal are quite extensive. His first goal is the full rebirth of the military might of the war leaders. Kesselring wants the West German Bundeswehr to be established on the model and in the likeness of Hitler's Wehrmacht.

"The true soldier has nothing in common with the so-called civilian in uniform", he writes in the leading organ of the revenge-seekers, the newspaper, Deutsche Soldatenzeitung. As examples of "true soldier," he recommends Hindenburg, Ludendorff and Rommel to the young men.

"The S. S. divisions had members with the purest German blood. Therefore the soldiers of these units should not be ostracized. We cannot get along without them in the creation of a new West German force". These words were spoken by Albert Kesselring in November 1954, on the British television. And two years later, in full accord with his will, the doors of the Bundeswehr were opened wide for S. S. officers.

Kesselring dreams of the day when the aircraft of the German militarists will again rule the skies of Western Europe. These dreams are being brought into reality by his closest associates, who are playing an important role in the War Ministry. Lieutenant General Kammhuber, head of the Aviation Department, is well known as an admirer of Kesselring.

The twenty air regiments which are being established in West Germany are only the beginning for Kesselring. He well remembers that when Goering undertook the rebirth of the "Luftwaffe" he had much fewer planes.

For the time being, Kesselring has no official duties at Bonn. This permits him to be completely frank. He talks much about a new war in the East. At the same time he gnashes his teeth at the West. In July 1953, his union's journal appeared under the heading "We Want a Victory Over France". Not long before, Kesselring wrote in an article on the war in the Mediterranean Sea that the sea "remains a longed-for dream for the Germans ... since it opens the way to markets." Germany "should not only defend itself, but should attack," the ex-Field Marshal frankly stated in his book, Thoughts on World War II. "I am certain that Germany's troop resources will receive due recognition", he said at a regular meeting of his supporters in September 1956.

Of course, it is harder for Kesselring and his associates to act now than it was in the past. The bitter experience of Hitler's dictatorship had its effect on the majority of the German people. The "Steel Helmet" and its ideologists are opposed by millions of active fighters against

Fascism in any form. However, it would be dangerous to fail to see that Kesselring and people like him are becoming a substantial force. Over a thousand military "associations" in the Federal Republic of Germany, actively supported by West German monopolies, are daily and hourly preparing the ground for a new war and for a bloody revenge.

Master of Black Deeds

A. Galkin

During the memorable days of 1945, when the nations were rejoicing over the end of the bloody war and the liberation of Europe from Fascist tyranny, a group of German officers surrendered to an American advance unit in Bavaria. In their appearance and conduct they were strikingly different from the tens of thousands of their colleagues who were demoralized, shabbily dressed and had lost that snappy appearance which Wehrmacht officers were once so proud of. These prisoners, carefully shaven and in immaculate uniforms, acted as if the defeat of the Hitlerite army in which they served had not affected them. The group was headed by a lean, balding man in a Lieutenant General's uniform. He immediately demanded that the entire group be sent to the staff in charge, since, he declared, he and his subordinates could provide the American command with information of extraordinary importance. ... When the General gave his name, it made quite an impression.

General Reinhard Gehlen was well known to the heads of the American secret service. In Hitler's General Staff he headed the "Fremde Heere Ost" ("Foreign Armies of the East") Department, directed the spy service in Eastern Europe, and was one of the greatest masters of espionage in Hitler's Reich.

Here is what the West German newspaper Aachener Nachrichten says about this episode: "During the 1945 catastrophe, General Gehlen fled to the West, taking extremely important secret documents with him. He managed to save many top secret lists of German agents operating in the Soviet Union. His ideas made a strong impression upon the heads of the American intelligence, as did the materials which he turned over to them."

Gehlen was sent to the United States capital, Washington, in a special aircraft. He did not remain there long; when all the plans for creating a new spy system at the service of the United States were approved by the Pentagon, he was brought back to West Germany.

Thus Gehlen's career of espionage began. He was serving the United States of America. "The Americans were delighted with his work, and willingly permitted him to increase the number of his workers and to expand his sphere of activity," Aachener Nachrichten said. "The Americans paid all expenses."

"Gehlen received much praise both from his American patrons and from the Bonn Government for the reliability and accuracy of his espionage data" the American journal, New Republic, stated.

At first, the work of the Gehlen "bureau" was directed inwards; the American authorities in West Germany needed people working for them in all the units of the political, social and administrative system.

The nature of the work of these people is shown by the admission which a British radio commentator once could not help bursting out with; he called Gehlen's service "political dynamite". "The Gehlen network in West Germany is a tremendous hidden force", this commentator wrote. "It has confidential agents in all the German government bureaus, in the police, the newspapers, the radio stations, the labor unions -- everywhere."

Soon, however, the tentacles of the Gehlen service reached out beyond the boundaries of the FRG -- into the German Democratic Republic and other socialist countries.

After the failure of the attempts to launch a Fascist putsch against the GDR on 17 June 1953, the press of the German Democratic Republic came to the unanimous conclusion that these events were the work of the service of the American agent Gehlen and was the fruit of their criminal activity.

This activity was described by Gehlen's agents themselves -- either when they failed in their work and were exposed, or repented and gave themselves up.

First a spy network, consisting of hundreds of agents and informers, was exposed within the German Democratic Republic. Then came failures of agents in Czechoslovakia and Poland. The public of the socialist countries exposed their intrigues. Spies who were arrested were sufficiently talkative; they did not feel it was necessary to maintain silence concerning their chief's secrets.

The evidence given by these agents and published in the democratic press provided a clear picture, permitting one to judge what the Gehlen organization represents.

Acting as an ally and agent of the most reactionary United States circles, the extensive apparatus of the Gehlen espionage and sabotage service was organized in the likeness of, and on the same principle as Hitler's military intelligence service, "Abwehr". Hitler's General saw far into the future; he foresaw a time when his service would become an important unit in the system of the German movement for revenge, would free itself from American sponsorship and would convert itself from a servant and an agent into a partner with equal rights.

How is the Gehlen system set up? The General himself and his closest associates make up the "administrative staff", located at a luxurious villa at the Starnberger See, not far from Munich. Directives go from here to the offices of the Central Administration (general directorate) located at Pullach -- a town not far from the capital of Bavaria.

Like the former Central Administration of the "Abwehr", the General Directorate consists of three basic branches: First (espionage), Second (wrecking and sabotage) and Third (counterintelligence). Each branch is sub-divided into divisions. Thus, the First Branch has a Division of Military Espionage (including the Infantry, Naval and Air Sections), a Division of Economic Espionage and one of Political Espionage. In addition, the frame-work of the General Directorate includes a number of autonomous auxiliary divisions: operational and administrative ones, schools for the preparation of agents, a courier communication service, etc.

Outlying Chief Branches, located in various Lander, are subordinate to the General Directorate. Their structure is completely identical with that of the General Directorate. The next level of the Gehlen organization consists of the District Branches. The latter have jurisdiction over branches scattered everywhere. The sub-branches deal with the chief agents or with groups of agents connected with them.

The Gehlen service, wrote the American journal New Republic, has all the means at its disposal which are known to an intelligence agency of world-wide scope, from petty informers to underground radio transmitters, from secret research laboratories to spy schools and scientific centers in which highly qualified scientists and specialists carefully analyse printed materials published in all the languages of the world.

Of course, not one of the numerous subdivisions of the Gehlen spy system calls itself by its true name. They are all camouflaged as commercial firms or industrial and economic organizations. Thus, the General Directorate at one time presented itself as the "Herzog Company". One of the principal branches used to camouflage itself under the name "Hase Company". The West Berlin Branch, "X/9592" operated as the "Norland Company". The group for the preparation of false documents used the conspiratorial name of "Swabian Industrial Representatives".

The names of those who work around Gehlen are kept strictly secret. The villa near Munich where his "administrative staff" is located is surrounded by a barbed-wire fence and is carefully protected by watchmen. For thirteen years, the General has carefully avoided the lenses of a camera. His latest photograph, dug up by indefatigable reporters, dates from 1944.

Despite the strict secrecy, some data has gotten into print concerning the personnel of the General's service. It has become known that Gehlen has surrounded himself not only with former intelligence agents from the General Staff, but with all the scum of Hitler's spy system who survived the collapse of the Fascist Reich. He has hired a number of workers from the Gestapo, the special purpose units and the S. S. "Reich Security Administration". The spy-general's closest adviser is a certain Fritz Panzinger, formerly head of the Gestapo in the Baltic Republics while they were occupied by the Fascists. The courier service is headed by General Kleikamp, former personnel chief of Hitler's General Staff. The Chief Branch of the Gehlen organization in Karlsruhe is under the S. S. member Leidl. Branch "X/8970" is headed by the Hitlerite spy, Major Gartner.

The basic offices of the Gehlen spy service include 4,000 experts on military and political affairs. This does not include the army of many thousands of agents scattered in various countries, all the way to the Near and Middle East.

In the spring of 1956, the American authorities transferred Gehlen's agency to the West German government. The head of the agency received the civil service rank of Ministerial Director; he is now subordinate to Chancellor Adenauer through Globke, head of his personal chancellery. The Bonn budget for the 1956-1957 fiscal year earmarked 23,000,000 marks for the maintenance of the Gehlen organization.

While outwardly and formally the Gehlen service is no longer connected with the American authorities, close contact between them is doubtless being maintained.

The Gehlen organization is the most extensive espionage and sabotage network operating in West Germany in the interests of the forces seeking to block the establishment of confidence in international relations -- namely, the reactionary circles of the western powers and the Germans seeking revenge. There is also an Intelligence and Counterintelligence Branch under the War Ministry of the Federal Republic of Germany. But this espionage organ is merely a subsidiary firm of the Gehlen spy company. At one time this branch was headed by Lieutenant Colonel Heinz, super-spy and saboteur of the "Brandenburg" units of Hitler's "Abwehr". He tried to maintain some independence from Gehlen, but these attempts only led to his being dismissed at the end of 1953. His successor, Major Oster, also showed some obstinacy. Consequently, in the spring of the following year an immediate agent of Gehlen's, Lieutenant Colonel Wessel, was placed at the head of the Intelligence and Counterintelligence Branch of the War Ministry.

Gehlen has also taken into his own hands a third secret service in the FRG -- "the Administration for the Protection of the Constitution". For a long time the assistant chief of this agency was Radke, a Gehlen agent. In 1954, Radke became in reality the chief of the agency and since then it has basically been one of the units in the Gehlen network.

It is known that in West Germany there are many other smaller intelligence agencies and espionage organizations. Espionage and sabotage are being carried out by the so-called "Investigative Committee of Free Jurists", "The Group for Struggle against Inhumanity", "The Consultants' Bureau for the Defense of Enterprises," and others. The West German Mittelbayerische Zeitung has counted tens of intelligence centers in West Berlin alone. If, for the sake of caution, this figure is cut in half, it would still be an impressive number. All these spy groups, units and centers work for Gehlen and his agency.

The General Directorate of Gehlen's service also has specialists on espionage against the West. The well-informed West German newspaper, Westfälische Rundschau, once remarked that "the activity of the bureau headed by the former German officer Gehlen is not directed at the East alone." The newspaper had a substantial basis for this statement. According to the admission of the Nazi spy and saboteur Skorzeny, before the Fascist forces withdrew in 1944 the German intelligence set up secret caches of arms and sabotage equipment all over Western Europe. There is reason to believe that the data on these caches are held by this Gehlen at the present time.

It is known that, in the past, Gehlen's representatives were especially active in recruiting agents among the workers of the administration of the French High Commissioner in Germany. In Strasbourg, in the so-called "Free Europe College", where spies are trained for work in countries of the East, the Gehlen service -- under the very noses of the French authorities -- organized a group to instruct agents specializing in problems of Alsace and Lorraine. According to the West German weekly, Deutsche Woche, this service regularly prepares secret summaries on the situation in France and Switzerland.

"Reports have been received," writes the American journal, New Republic, "of evidence of increasing activity of the Gehlen organization from such remote places as Hong Kong, Stockholm and Madrid. The French were particularly disturbed by reports indicating that Gehlen agents were operating in their country."

New tasks face the Gehlen organization with the inclusion of West Germany in North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the creation of a West German Army for the purpose of revenge, and the related increase in the proportion of German militarists in NATO. The Bonn organizers of this

army so far have not announced openly their goals of obtaining the dominant role in west Europe -- this would be premature and would merely have alarmed their present-day West European partners. But in Bonn, quite extensive consideration is being given not only to the problem of the forceful annexation of the German Democratic Republic, but also, for example, to an anschluss with Austria.

A special Austrian division of the Gehlen service is promoting the goals of secret preparation, planned for many years, for an anschluss with Austria. This division is called "Sud" (South), and has strongholds in Salzburg, Linz, Graz, Klagenfurt and Vienna. As is the case in other units of this service, the personnel of the Austrian branch are recruited from "specialists" with a Nazi background. One of the leaders of the Austrian division is Wilhelm Hoette, formerly an associate of Kaltenbrunner, chief of the Gestapo.

In particular activity was shown by the Gehlen German-American espionage network in Austria during the counterrevolutionary putsch of the Horthyite underground in Hungary. Austria became a transfer point for the deployment of persons and armaments to support the armed action against the popular democratic system in Hungary. The Gehlen service, operating in close contact with the United States intelligence, undertook to organize this deployment jointly with other imperialistic intelligence agencies. In West Germany people speak openly of Gehlen's participation in the events in Hungary. It was this agency that sent hand grenades disguised as canned goods from the Federal Republic of Germany to Hungary.

The White Book of the Hungarian Workers' and Peasants' Revolutionary Government also mentions the sinister role of the Gehlen service in the preparation and execution of the counterrevolutionary putsch in Hungary; this book exposes the dark activities of foreign imperialistic spy services. Even the American newspaper, New York World Telegram and Sun, citing informed diplomatic circles, acknowledged that the Gehlen intelligence service played a significant role in the putsch in Hungary.

... The foreign press, seeking to create an air of mystery around Gehlen, called him a "man without a face". This, at the very least, is not exactly accurate. Gehlen and his bosses have a face. It is the face of the German striving for revenge; its savage fangs are well known to millions of people from the quite recent past.

Shadow Over Europe

N. Gribachev

The western propaganda sextons are swinging their censers of ink, driving away the devils of doubt, while the godfathers and nursemaids of "Euratom," "Eurafrica," "the European Common Market" and other prodigal sons of a prodigal policy are lobbying in their parliaments to have the christening take place with due decorum and particularly without any special noise from the street. Everyone is so busy with this that even the thin flow of news from the Bermuda Islands, insipid as it is, is smeared over the newspapers without the usual affectation and official optimism. What is the matter?

Hans Speidel, the Hitler general who has collected lumps on his forehead in the Caucasus, Voronezh and Belgorod, is being seated in the saddle as Commander-in-Chief of NATO Infantry Forces in central Europe and is riding into Paris on the black horse of American policy toward Europe. Tomorrow he will pick up the reins and pull on them, he will assume a dignified air, and the French and British soldiers, officers and generals will march off under their new command: "Eins, zwei, drei...." The goose-step for the proud Britons, the barracks at Bonn for the freedom-loving Gauls. The ghosts of all the generations of German militarists are crawling out on their tombstones, giggling and clapping their hands; the new players and the living seekers of revenge are snatching a tremendous military and political prize at the cost of the fall and belittling of British and French authority.

How can it be any different, if yesterday's loser is giving orders to the victors, if no general remotely suitable can be found to command their own troops among the British or French who produced Nelson and Napoleon, or if, speaking metaphorically, the Bonn goat Hans Speidel has been appointed to guard the garden of British and French interests. True, all this took place amid the agitation and angry protests of workers, especially the young ones, who must now serve under the command of the murderer of their fathers, brothers and fellow-citizens. But Speidel himself, as reported by the British journal, Picture Post, is ignoring this indignation with Swabian arrogance, and the British and French statesmen have transoceanic blinkers over their eyes and have the tangled cotton of Dulles' promises stuffed into their ears.

It would be naive to think that history decided to exalt Hans Speidel for his military genius; history cannot find anything like such genius in his biography, even if it should undertake to examine it through a Zeiss microscope. It would also be ridiculous to assume that Speidel, who on two occasions, the first and second world wars, fired at the French and British and was loaded down with medals by the Kaiser and by Hitler for this, has wept a tear of sorrow and has decided to devote the remainder of his life to a lofty aim, i.e., organizing a well-to-do life in the militaristic jungles for the French Little Red Riding Hood and the aged British lion.

The appointment of Hans Speidel, if one arrives at the essence of it and discards the camouflaging phraseology, is the beginning of a new game of war between Bonn and Washington, a game in which the troops of the allies in the bloc are called upon to play the role of chess pieces. Speidel turned out to be a suitable nomination for the position of commander just because of his ability in playing, in conducting and weaving intrigues and in putting others into jeopardy. It is no coincidence that the journal Der Spiegel wrote, describing him: "His smooth cunning and elegant deftness make him resemble rather a smart business operator accustomed to success." And if anyone assumes that Speidel the nationalist will use these abilities to the disadvantage of Bonn and Speidel the revenge-seeker will use them to the disadvantage of Washington, to which he is tied with only one string, such an optimist should have his temperature taken and told to see a doctor; he has the Atlantic fever with a loss of the normal feeling for time and the surroundings.

Hans Speidel, the son of a forester, was born in the idyllic village of Metzingen, from which one may conclude that nature is not always consistent; the offspring resembled neither his father nor his mother, but turned out to be a Prussian youth. When World War I began, Hans Speidel was still sitting on a school bench, but soon got away into the field army with the rank of a Junker; he understood that in the muddy waters of chauvinistic intoxication and war one could, with some skill, make a good career for himself. That is what happened: he fought at Verdun, on the Somme and the Maas as commander of a squad, platoon, and company, and got away from the defeat as a regimental adjutant with crosses and medals, but no wounds. His fellow officers found in him evidence of great flexibility, not noting or noticing any other talents. Then things went badly, the defeated army changed from one of many millions to one of only a hundred thousand, leaving its haughtiness and guilt behind on the fields of France and Russia. Then Speidel enrolled in courses on history and economics at the University of Berlin and was awarded a Doctorate in Philosophy cum laude at the University of Tübingen.

By the way, his dissertation, "1813-1924; a Military and Political Study" resembled a philosophical work as much as barracks language resembles Goethe's poetry. "The cause of revolution is not in moral strength, but in moral weakness, in the weakness of the people and the government," wrote this new Pangloss in lieutenant's shoulderstraps, unable to tell a goat from a cat-tail and assuming with the naivete of a Junker that the world is ruled by a corporal's baton. "Into the breaches made by the revolution, political parties flow in," these "crowds of parasites on the body of the empire," he stated with the naivete of a kindergarten student, mixing his fantasies with those of Oswald Spengler and not understanding that every empire carries revolution around in itself, and that political parties, depending on their class nature, either help in the birth or else smother the new-born

child. No one knows how much longer Hans Speidel would have played with his philosophical toys and rattles and have sipped beer in the Ludwigsburg Casino if the Reichstag had not burst into flames and if Hitler had not slammed the door in the face of the International Conference on Disarmament in 1933. Without making a wry face and without spitting, the "Doctor of Philosophy" swallowed his statements that parties are "crowds of parasites on the body of the empire" and went off to serve Naziism. Then he made his first entry into Paris as an Assistant Military Attaché; he represented and personified, on the international scene, German militarization, which led to the torch-lit orgies of the S.S., the pogroms, the concentration camps, the fall of Paris and the ruins of Coventry. A small bolt in a vast machine, Hans Speidel, urbane, self-assured and crafty, was casting a large shadow of future calamities and misfortunes.

Speidel found himself in Paris a second time when Beck, Chief of Hitler's General Staff, made a visit to his French colleague Gamelin. This was a ceremonial bow before the dagger thrust. Then the war began. Hans Speidel became a first officer of the General Staff, and a year and a half later again, arrived in Paris a third time in order to propose to the French general Dentz that he surrender the city without fighting. He accompanied Hitler throughout conquered Paris to Napoleon's sarcophagus, and in gratitude the frenzied Führer appointed Speidel Chief of Staff to the Commander of the Occupation Troops in France.

Thus, every appearance of this "Doctor of Philosophy" in Paris led to sinister consequences for France. The urbane speeches of Hans Speidel always turned out to be the howl of a dog at a fire. But at that time the son of the Metzingen forester was lowly in rank and was allowed to play independently only with matches, and now, just wait, your American daddy will give him an atomic bomb to play with also.

It must be said that Hans Speidel conducted himself circumspectly, leaving himself a way out in case the time came to settle scores. He never protested against the mass executions of French patriots and hostages, but he never put his signature on orders for executions unless it was next to that of Keitel, Chief of the General Staff. This was a shadow which left no traces. Quietly, wearing rubber soles of caution, he passed through the generals' plot against Hitler which was then beginning to take shape. At Rommel's request, he established contact with von Neurath for this purpose, brought Rommel himself together with the military commandant of Paris, Stülpnagel, and conducted negotiations with Field Marshal von Kluge.

And what happened?

Kluge was forced to shoot himself, Rommel took poison, and Stülpnagel was hanged. This was the cost of words and intentions which were not followed by action. And what about Hans Speidel? He helped to tie and tighten

the noose around the necks of his commanding officers, but when the decisive moment came he managed to scramble to the side of the road. When Stülpnagel, arriving from Paris, advised Kluge to surrender, to throw open the front on the West, and at the same time launch a revolt against Hitler, Kluge was hesitant: "Yes, if only the swine were dead." Smelling the odor of a soap-covered rope here, Hans Speidel wisely left during this conversation, and later told the Gestapo: "At that time I was in my office and was directing military operations." It wasn't I, the horse was not mine....

Such is Hans Speidel — a mixture of the idyl of Metzingen with Prussianism, of a home-grown philosopher and an elegant nightingale with the fox. He is the idol of the Philistines, who value resourcefulness more than anything, along with the ability to create a career regardless of what one has to offer, and he represents very mediocre human material from the point of view of sound judgment. And to the extent that NATO is not only a military instrument but even more a political one — a transoceanic master key to the independence, sovereignty and the economic positions of the West European countries — to this extent Hans is fully suitable for the Americans. Evidently, Washington decided that the English and the French are making the farewell to their glorious past unduly complicated and drawn out; Hans Speidel will be able to make it shorter.

Of course, the British and the French would never have invented such a plan themselves; it was the creation of their "senior partner." No one in the world doubts that the Anglo-French team is playing in this big political soccer match at Dulles' whistle and under the direction of Washington trainers. But having scored behind their own goal-line, the west European politicians are seeking to present this as a defense of their own national interests — to call a pig a carp — and simultaneously, to calm public opinion, they declare the innocence of Hans Speidel, painting him as a poor blond Gretchen, deprived of her innocence by the mischievous Adolf Hitler. It is true that at the end of the war, when everything collapsed and the fragments of the third Reich were tumbling down upon the heads of its creators and builders, Hans Speidel was in prison, where, in the seemly company of people like him, he drank wine, smoked expensive cigars and delivered speeches heretical to the Gestapo, and, during pauses in these activities, would wash off the blood of Voronezh and Belgorod collective farmers and French partisans and patriots. Even the British and French lawyers are not so naive as to believe seriously that Speidel and Hitler had any ideological differences at that time; the General merely jumped overboard when he felt that the ship of the Reich, with its insane captain, was sinking. The same course of action, as is well known, is followed under similar circumstances by rats, but no one would assign them lofty political motives for doing this.

Rather, the truth is at hand and simple.

The appointment of Hans Speidel was an act of surrender of Anglo-French policy to the Bonn-Washington axis. This old lady, the "traditional" Anglo-French policy, is so sick with fear of Communism that in her illness she no longer feels what a heavy hand her gray hairs are being wound around. She is still fussing and withering in the Middle East, not noticing that her sight is poor and that a new tenant is trying to move in upon her sphere of influence with the aplomb of an international Ostap Bender; she is enthusiastically murmuring the newly-born word "Eurafrica," not realizing that it is merely a password to let new colonizers pass the old French sentry posts. As soon as Hans Speidel becomes seated more comfortably in his lofty chair in Paris, one can speak in plain terms of how Anglo-French influence is fading and waning throughout the world and how Anglo-French interests and aims are falling underneath the steam-roller of the German desire for revenge. Whenever Speidel has appeared in Paris, he has personified and fulfilled German aggression in the West, and it would be foolish for the French to lull themselves with the hope that, in the present international climate, tea roses will be raised from nettle seeds. As ye sow, so shall ye reap. All the more so, since the plan which Speidel is to put into effect now will be worked out at NATO General Headquarters with the participation of the Hitlerite General Heusinger. This circle of Hitlerite generals around the West's military command is not yet complete, but it is significant that additional links are being forged in it one by one.

And what is Washington counting upon in this situation?

There it is assumed that a "position of strength" policy will best protect all the various monopolistic interests of the United States in the world today, and this policy is proceeding in two directions. One direction is that pursued by the United States in regard to its British, French and other partners, this phase being more effective and profitable. The other is directed, jointly with the defeated partners, against the countries of the socialist camp, although this phase does not justify its expense, since there have not been any lambs for a long time which have desired to be shorn in this area. Washington's best assistant in these matters seems to be Bonn; here too the plans are becoming moth-eaten and the shears are being sharpened. Washington has to pay something for this, although at first not out of its own funds; the Americans assume that the mildest lambs are grazing on the banks of the Seine and the Thames....

Thus the German hireling generals are making their appearance in the big international arena, and the British and French politicians are throwing under their feet the interests of their own peoples and the prestige of nations. Recently, after having boarded the American cruiser "Boston," Hans Speidel expressed the hope that it is not yet too late to create a "united Europe." Here everything is significant -- the place, the speaker, and the text.

Of course, we Soviet people are also disturbed to the depths of our souls by Hans Speidel's appointment; since we are endowed with normal feelings, we are not accustomed to viewing with equanimity how honors are given to murderers and how hangmen and tricksters are promoted to high positions. We fully share the anger and indignation of the patriots of France and Great Britain and of all the honest people of Europe. But we have no fear of the fangs bared at us or of the atomic cigarette-lighters which the Americans are already supplying to Speidel.

The shadow of Hans Speidel as he enters his duties falls primarily across Western Europe. And this shadow is unmistakably of a dirty brown color.

FRANCE

"France seems weak and in decline only because of the policy of renouncing its national rights, a policy which its 'European' and 'Atlantic' governments are carrying out in all fields." — M. Thorez

Politics and Profits

N. Molchanov

In Paris, under the shelter of the Arch of Triumph, lies a heavy brass plate on the grave of the unknown soldier. An eternal flame burns here day and night. This place is sacred to every French patriot. Official ceremonies take place here. Almost always wreaths lie on the grave — a monument to the courage of the nameless heroes of France. This monument is a symbol of the heroic and tragic history of France. During the last two centuries she has suffered more from war than any other west European country. France has undergone the invasion of German troops three times. The invader's heel has repeatedly trampled upon the soil of Paris after capture by aggressors. During the First and Second World Wars, France suffered great losses. While the United States lost 245,000 dead during the second world war and Great Britain 325,000, France lost 802,000. Here in nearly every city and village rise memorials to the dead of these two world-wide massacres.

The majority of Frenchmen hate war and ardently desire peace. How are the rulers of France translating this sacred desire into reality? The country was still healing its wounds from World War II when it was drawn into the aggressive military blocs of the western powers. While rusty war scrap was still being gathered from the former battlefields, the ruling circles of France started a new armaments race. France became one of the active advocates and participants in the aggressive policy of force followed by the United States government. How could it happen that 43,000,000 Frenchmen, who had suffered so much from war,

found themselves again prisoners of an adventurist policy which threatened them with new and more frightful calamities? Who in France needed war?

To the misfortune of the French, the post-war policy of their country, as before, proved to be under the definite influence of the forces behind the scenes which had repeatedly driven it into military adventures. Several decades ago these forces were vaguely termed the "money wall," in the 1930's they began to call them more concretely the "200 families"; now they are known with complete precision under the official title of the National Council of French Management (NSFP). The French newspapers often refer to it by the short word, sounding like the dull crack of a rifle, patronat.

Of course, in France there are no special laws assigning decisive power over its government activities and policies to the representatives of the financial and industrial oligarchy. Ingenuity and cleverness has been used in masking France's subordination to monopoly capital, which has gained huge profits from wars and preparations for war. The public is far from knowing everything. Nevertheless, information published at various times in the foreign press reveal the sinister role of the French financial and industrial magnates.

The National Council of French Management is the secret but the real ruler of France. "While Parliament is divided into numerous factions," wrote the American journal United Nations World, "the NSFP pursues its goals with a unity of purpose which, to use the words of one deputy, 'would have been admirable if its goals were more admirable.'"

The NSFP is an organization uniting the French employers and is the only organization authorized to represent them all. The National Council of French Management has its "private" cabinet with some resemblance to the ministries of economics, labor, and foreign affairs. It has a bicameral "parliament": a committee of 120 directors which meets once a month, and a general assembly of 500 members which meets annually.

The president of the organization is that noted representative of the French monopolies, Georges Villiers. He heads the Council, consisting of twenty-two directors representing the largest monopolies in the country. This Council, which the French press calls the "real government" of France, meets once or twice a week in the headquarters of the NSFP on Pierre I de Serbie Street in Paris. The following fact eloquently describes Georges Villiers' political complexion. In 1942, the Vichy government appointed him mayor of Lyons in place of Eduard Herriot, who was thrown into a concentration camp.

According to the American press, the NSFP has a "secret fund," amounting to ten or twelve billion francs. It is raised from the contributions of big industrialists. The majority of French bourgeois parties draw their funds from this "secret fund." At first the principal recipients were the Republican People's Movement (MRP) and the socialists; then the radicals enjoyed the generosity of the fund, and since 1951 a large part of its money has gone, in addition to the MRP, to the extreme rightist political groups (the "independents," the "moderates," etc.). The fund is managed by the "Office of Administrative and Economic Research" (Paris, 3 rue de Penthievre). It is known, for example, that during one of the recent electoral campaigns more than a hundred right-wing deputies received a billion francs from the "secret fund."

The French patronat has its henchmen in all the bourgeois political parties, in Parliament and in the government.

One of the most influential bourgeois parties in France is the Radical Party. Among its leaders are representatives of the largest banks and industrial firms. Here are some of them: René Mayer, representative of the Rothschild group and former president of the large bank Banque Rothschild Frères. He participates in the management of over twenty large trusts and insurance societies. René Mayer held ministerial posts in several post-war governments. Henri Queuille is the representative of the Durand Electric Engineering Trust. He has been a minister and prime minister several times. Bourges-Maunoury is the general manager of the armament-manufacturing Marrel Frères Company, which is connected with the banking house of Mirabaud; he was Minister of National Defense in the Guy Mollet government and a minister in a number of earlier governments. In 1957 he was even Prime Minister. Senator Borgeaud is a member of the boards of directors of several mining and industrial companies, part of whose capital is invested in North Africa.

A leading role in the political life of post-war France is played by the Catholic party, MRP. The connections of the leaders of this party, which promotes an extremely reactionary and militaristic policy, are also very typical. The president of the party until 1953 was Maurice Schumann, closely linked with the large French banks and with American capital. Robert Schuman, who was Minister of Foreign Affairs for many years and twice occupied the post of Prime Minister, is close to the Franco-German industrialist family of de Wendel. With the assistance of François de Wendel, Schuman was first elected to Parliament in 1919. He was a member of the Vichy government. One should also mention such well-known figures in the MRP as André Debré, one of the directors of the Paris-Netherlands Bank; Jean Letourneau, one of the owners of the coal mines in Morocco and allied with American banks, and who was Minister of the Annexed Territories from 1949 to 1953; and Pierre de Chevigny, representative of the Mirabaud Bank.

At the extreme right of the reactionary political parties are the so-called "independents." The capital belonging to the president of the National Congress of this party, Roger Duchet, is invested in industrial enterprises in the French colonies. One of the independent leaders, the former Prime Minister, Joseph Laniel, is a big industrialist, a leading textile manufacturer and is allied closely with electric engineering firms. Antoine Pinay, Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, is a big leather manufacturer. A typical detail: when Pinay became Prime Minister in 1955, the price of leather went up by fifty percent.

Among the moderates is the so-called Peasants' Party. The president of the party is Paul Antier, a large land-owner. In 1940 he was among those who urged turning power over to Pétain.

There are also a number of representatives of banks and industrial companies in the Social Republican party (De Gaullists). One of its outstanding figures, Pierre de Gaulle, brother of General Charles de Gaulle, is the President of the Union Parisienne Bank, closely allied with the Schneider Armaments Company. General Chaban-Delmas has very close links with large publishing and book-trade firms.

We have named here only the better known of the French politicians, who are playing a prominent role in parliamentary and political life. We should add to them numerous less known direct representatives of the monopolies who have seized the government machinery of the French Republic. Among the responsible officials of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs are many financiers and industrialists. Once the general secretary of the Ministry was even François Charles-Roux, the chairman of the board of the notorious Suez Canal Company. The chairman of the board of the French branch of the Banco di Roma, Jules Laroche, has long been one of the leading figures in French diplomacy. D'Ormesson, the Ambassador to the Vatican, is a close relative of the big bankers, Seillière. Henri François-Poncet, until recently the French Supreme Commissioner in West Germany, is a brother of the general manager of one of the trusts in the de Wendel group. The representative of France in the NATO Council, Hervé Alphand, Ambassador to the United States, is closely allied with the heavy industry magnates.

This list could be continued further. But the examples already given are sufficient to convince one that the French monopolies hold in their hands the principal levers in the French political machine. In addition to direct personal representation, there are many other indirect ways of making the government subordinate to monopoly capital.

What is the policy which these rulers of France are foisting upon the country? In the area of internal affairs, it amounts to protecting the interests of the monopolies, preserving high prices and low wages,

and continuously attacking the economic and political rights of the workers. In the area of foreign policy, it is orientation upon the United States as a principal bulwark in the struggle against democratic forces and the preparation for a new war. And all is subordinate to an unbridled pursuit of profits. "If it were possible to purchase all of France, they would buy France from France itself" -- this remark of Cardinal Richelieu concerning the French court aristocracy of his time could not fit the present policy of the NSFP's leaders more aptly.

The hidden activity and the real role of the French financial and industrial bosses is no secret to many Frenchmen. The Catholic writer Francois Mauriac has stated that the NSFP representatives "watch the voting in Parliament from the public balconies." The deputies of the bourgeois parties know that their masters are observing their every word and their every vote. In June 1953, the former President of France, Vincent Auriol, said concerning the patronat's activities: "Our democracy will degenerate into anarchy if it does not defend the interests of society from the coalition of egoism and cupidity which is trying to influence the French Parliament by such methods, as shameless as they are scandalous."

This influence was the principal reason that French foreign policy has been subordinate to the interests of the United States since 1947. The French monopolists, frightened by the growth of the democratic forces after the war, in order to preserve their profits, privileges and power, decided to rely upon a more powerful foreign imperialism, thereby placing themselves in a relatively dependent position. The French economist, Henri Claude, in his book The Monopolies Against the Nation, published in 1956, writes: "Financial capital bears the responsibility for the anti-national policy which has been followed since 1947. It was this capital that sold national independence for dollars, traded in France's security, mortgaged the future of the nation, speculated in the very destruction of the French people, and drove to its extreme limits the policy of treason to the nation by preparing an atomic war; it is this capital that represents the most anti-national part of the bourgeoisie."

In 1948, France signed a treaty with the United States on the "Marshall Plan." By this treaty, France, in granting the United States the right to interfere in its economic and financial affairs, began in fact to follow a foreign policy corresponding to the requirements of the State Department of the United States. In return, it received American financial and economic "aid." The American credits and "gifts" turned out to be in the hands of the large French monopolies. The largest part was received by the large trusts: "USINOR," "Sollac," "Ugine," "Schneider et Cie," and others. The "Marshall Plan" was a strong support to the French monopolies, but it undermined French sovereignty and foisted American policy upon it. The participation of

France in the "Marshall Plan" was a clear example of the utilization of the French government in the interest of the enrichment of the monopolists and to the harm of the true interests of the workers.

In April 1949, France entered the aggressive North Atlantic Union. This action drew her into the armaments race, foisted an aggressive foreign policy upon her, and considerably increased her dependence upon the United States. American troops were deployed upon French territory, and extensive construction began of American airfields, military storage facilities and other establishments. Forty Atlantic Organization airfields were built in France, and 50,000 American officers and men were deployed there. The French people were saddled with the heavy load of vast military expenditures which, according to official, minimized data, grew in France from 231 billion francs in 1947 to 1,368 billion in 1956, or more than six-fold.

But while the "Atlantic" policy of France's governments has caused and is continuing to cause great harm to the national interests of the country, this policy is bringing enormous profits to the French monopolies. After 1952, actual military expenditures amounted to between 1,800-1,900 billion francs annually, or nearly half of the entire budget. Out of this sum, according to French economists, between 1,100-1,200 billion francs are spent for military orders placed with the most powerful trusts, which make enormous profits from them. This is why the militarization of the French economy and the policy of preparing for a new war is extremely profitable for the financial and industrial oligarchy.

A state of war hysteria is also needed by the monopolistic circles to reduce the standard of living of the working class.

After the American handouts under the "Marshall Plan" came to an end, the French monopolies began to receive large sums within the framework of the North Atlantic Organization on the basis of the so-called "mutual security" system. American military orders with French military companies grew from 818 billion francs in 1952 to 1,272 billion in 1954. These orders brought in enormous profits to such large trusts as "Forges et ateliers du Creusot," "Brandt," "Tomson-Houston," "Dassault," and others.

Official French propaganda, seeking to conceal such facts, is strenuously attempting to justify the "Atlantic policy," the policy of war, on the basis of the supposed "threat of attack" by the Soviet Union. Still, the Soviet Union's sincere love for peace is now acknowledged even by people who have views far from those of the Communists.

* * *

A typical example of the complete disregard for the national interests and open betrayal of them is to be found in the history of the powerful family of French heavy industry magnates -- the de Wendels. Their ancestors came from Germany. In 1704, one of them acquired metallurgical enterprises in Hayange on French territory. In the next generation, the de Wendels established factories in Charleville, Tulle, and Le Creusot. As a result of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, Lorraine was annexed to Germany, placing part of the de Wendel enterprises in a different country. Adrien de Wendel then exchanged his French citizenship for a German one. Two great de Wendel firms were established, the French one and the German one. Preparations for World War I permitted both to obtain enormous profits from armament production. Deputy de Wendel was in the French Parliament; his cousin sat in the Reichstag. The War of 1914-1918 did not break the family ties of the de Wendels and the von Wendels. This is shown by the following remarkable fact. The German Army, at the very beginning of the war, occupied the de Wendel factories in the Briey valley. These factories provided considerable assistance to Germany during the war. And while they were located within range of the French artillery, the troops were given the strictest orders not to fire at these factories.

The de Wendels also acquired wealth during World War II. When Hitler occupied France, Francois de Wendel sent him a letter in which he assured him of his loyalty and promised him full support.

At present, the de Wendel enterprises are operating at full capacity. Their annual turnover amounts to 80 billion francs. The armaments race is bringing them enormous profits both in France and in Western Germany. In France, the de Wendels are called the "family of turncoats," that is, people without a country, going over to the side more valuable to them. Less important "turncoats" also exist, and many of them can be found among the magnates of French monopoly capital.

* * *

With great power concentrated in their hands, the French monopolies are shamelessly using the French government for their own mercenary interests. This is convincingly demonstrated if one examines closely the basis of French foreign policy.

The German problem occupies a leading place in French foreign policy. After World War II, the French people determined to prevent a rebirth of German militarism. But only five years later France had in principle agreed to the restoration of the armed forces of West Germany. In 1954, its representatives signed the Paris treaties on the rebirth of the Wehrmacht. How is this line in French foreign policy explained? The facts show irrefutably that the leading role in this reversal was played by the mercenary interests of French monopolistic capital.

The French monopolies have considerable investments in West German industry. Conversion of this industry to military production promised them vast profits. During the Hitlerite occupation of France, the French metallurgical magnates raked in enormous profits from armament production for the German Army. With the aid of the Paris treaties, they decided to bring back those happy times.

But, in addition to the desire to profit from armament production for the West German Army, the French monopolies are guided by another consideration which is no less important for them. They expect that they will be able to compete with the West German monopolists in the international markets; after all, much of the latter's efforts will be directed toward rearming West Germany. The French newspaperman Albert-Paul Lentin wrote in January, 1955: "French big capital regards the Paris treaties as corresponding to their interests on the whole, and has therefore decided to support them and to sway in this direction the French parliamentary deputies who are under their influence, especially the moderates; it decided to do everything possible to build up a solid parliamentary majority to secure the ratification of these treaties."

This is why the news that the Paris conference had signed a treaty on the rearming of West Germany caused, on 24 October 1954, a significant rise in the stocks of the war industry monopolies on the Paris Bourse, as well as on the New York and London exchanges.

Of course, France agreed to the arming of West Germany under the pressure of the American ruling circles, capitalizing on the search of the French monopolies for new sources of enrichment.

In this connection, the post-war history of the Saar problem is typical. The Saar Region is small in area and population, but its economic potential is very large. The Saar annually produces 3,000,000 tons of steel and 17,000,000 tons of coal. After the war, the French monopolies opened a vigorous struggle for the annexation of the Saar to France. The United States and Great Britain supported France's claims to the Saar, demanding in return French support for the policy of re-militarizing West Germany. The French monopolies took over the economy of the Saar and acquired enormous profits thereby. But, after having obtained the agreement of the French rulers to the arming of West Germany, the United States reversed its position: the Saar was again returned to West Germany. Without concealing their intentions to seek revenge, the German militarists are building up their forces.

French colonial policy is also subordinate to the mercenary interests of the French monopolies. After World War II, the French governments have been waging colonial wars actually without interruption. The "dirty war" in Indo-China dragged on for eight years. From

the beginning to the end, it was a war in the interests of the French financial oligarchy. The net profits of twenty-five large French companies whose operations were connected with Indo-China almost doubled over a short period. Although the United States "aided" the French monopolists with dollars in waging the war, more than twice the amount was spent on it as was received by France under the "Marshall Plan."

In 1956, war broke out in Algeria. France concentrated over 400,000 troops here. Each day of the war has cost the French people a billion francs and numerous lives. And all this was done to increase the profits of the French monopolists, who are interested in maintaining colonial rule in Algeria. Algeria is the largest consumer of French industrial production. It has second place in French imports. In 1953, exports from Algeria amounted to 107 billion francs.

Every facet of French foreign policy reflects the interests of the French monopoly capital which determines it. Let us take, for example, the plan to create a "European Union" of six countries -- France, West Germany, Italy, and the three Benelux countries, envisaging a gradual merger of various branches of their economy, armed forces and finally the countries themselves into a "supergovernment." The "European Coal and Steel Community" has existed for several years. In 1955, the supporters of a "united Europe" intensified their activity again. There was talk of establishing a "common market" and of merging atomic industry. Both these plans have the same political goal: strengthening and unifying the closed military and political union of West European countries. But they are represented as being a means of achieving economic prosperity and progress.

The authors of the plan for a "common market" claim, in particular, that the markets of the six countries will be merged into one by the abolition of customs. There is to be free competition. This will cause a quick reduction in prices, from which the consumer supposedly would benefit.

In reality, the policy of free trade will, as it always has in the past, establish the domination of the most powerful monopolies and will destroy the small enterprises which are unable to compete. The victorious monopolies, as experience has shown, will then dictate monopoly prices.

But the situation is even more serious if one takes into account the economic situation in each country. And here one should first consider France. The point is that French industry as a whole is less profitable than, for example, that of West Germany; French goods are, as a rule, more expensive than West German ones. As a result of his stubborn struggle, the French worker has won higher wages and better social welfare than the worker in West Germany or in Italy.

What will happen when a "common market" is established? The weaker enterprises will be unable to withstand the pressure of their competitors and will go out of business. Wide-spread unemployment will result.

The owners of the enterprises which survive, seeking to lower the prices for their products, will begin to reduce wages and to increase the exploitation of the workers. The French economy will undergo a serious disturbance and will fall into decline and chaos. Who will gain from this? It will be the monopolies of West Germany, which are sounder economically. The "common market" will enable them to establish an undivided domination over West Europe. "The German exporters," writes the French newspaper Information, "have every reason to welcome the establishment of a 'common market.' As for France, the 'common market' is a deathly danger."

Why then do the ruling circles of France insist upon the establishment of a "common market"? Here also the decisive role is played by the interests of the French financial and industrial monopolies. It is true that the plan for a common market is opposed by certain businessmen in the light, chemical and machine-building industries. But the influential iron and steel monopolies, which are already participating in the "European Coal and Steel Community" and which have nothing to lose from a further "liberalization" of French foreign trade, are fighting for the establishment of a common market. With the aid of the "common market," the leading financial and industrial monopolies in France hope to strengthen their position in the world market. They will strive for price reductions on their products by means of reducing wages and wiping out the social gains of the workers.

A serious threat to the national interests of France is also represented by the atomic industry merger -- "Euratom." In the opinion of a French journal, France will become "the first victim of Euratom."

France has gone far ahead of the other participants in the development of atomic industry. It has large reserves of fissionable materials, is conducting considerable research, and has built an atomic electric power station. Since "Euratom" is an organization of a "national" nature, it is threatening to violate French sovereignty in such an important field as the atomic industry. The participation of France in "Euratom" will increase her dependence upon the United States, since it will be under American control. The atomic "pool" (that is, a "pot used in common"), will give the German militarists the opportunity to produce atomic weapons. All this will create a serious threat to the national interests of France. Nevertheless, the ruling circles of France are striving for the creation of "Euratom." The explanation is the same: "Euratom" is profitable to the large monopolies. Especial interest is shown by the French uranium ore company controlled by the Rothschilds, the Central Society for the

Production of Uranium, and Radioactive Ores and Metals (the Ugine company), the French Heavy Water Company (the Pechiney group), the Alsace Machine-Building Company, and others. This is why, despite the clear danger for the national interests of France, its representatives on 25 March 1957 signed the agreements on the organization of "Euratom" and the creation of a "common market" in the course of twelve to fifteen years.

The French monopolies hope that the transfer of atomic industry to the control of "Euratom" will avoid the possible nationalization of this branch of the economy in France. This is what is really hidden behind talk that "Euratom" is the way to atomic "progress," the "prosperity" of Europe, etc.

A sinister role was played by the French financial oligarchy in the Suez crisis. As is well known, France took a most aggressive stand in this problem. At the end of October 1956, together with Great Britain and Israel, it undertook an armed attack against Egypt.

The aggression against Egypt failed. It caused serious injury to French interests. France appeared before the whole world in the role of an aggressor. The Suez adventure seriously heightened the crisis in the French financial system. According to published data, the participation of France in the war against Egypt cost it 90 billion francs. The rupture of trade relations with Egypt increased the loss by 10 billion francs.

But this is by no means all. All sectors of the French economy suffered seriously from the aggression against Egypt. As a result of the closing of the Suez Canal and the destruction of pipe-lines, France was deprived of over 80 percent of the oil it consumed. In addition, France used to receive through the Suez Canal two-thirds of the rubber it consumed, about 40 percent of its manganese ore, about 90 percent of its mica, half of its wool, much of its cotton, and so forth.

As early as the end of November 1956, gasoline ration cards were introduced in France; a passenger car was assigned 30 liters of fuel a month. At the beginning of 1957, the fuel allowance was reduced. Long lines of automobiles stood at the gasoline pumps. Speculators drove up the prices for fuel on the black market. The American journal Newsweek told about a curious but typical incident. At one point Mendès-France hastily sought out a Secretary of State, Paul Anxionnaz, in the lobbies of the National Assembly. The two politicians began a heated conversation. About what? Possibly about the policy to be followed in the Suez problem or about Algeria? No, the former Premier of France was attempting to acquire twenty liters of gasoline!

Because of the shortage of fuel, many industrial enterprises began to close down, especially in the automobile industry. Transportation expenses rose sharply. Prices went up for many consumer goods. Central

heating in many residential buildings was discontinued. The heat was even turned off at the headquarters of the Atlantic Organization in Paris! On the railroads, many diesel engines were replaced by steam locomotives. In Paris, Marseilles, and in other cities, long unused trolley cars were put into operation. Noisily they dragged along the empty streets on which automobiles were becoming scarcer and scarcer.

In unleashing the aggression against Egypt, the French government organized an economic blockade against its own country!

Why did this take place? Because the French monopolists did not want to accept the nationalization of the Suez Canal by Egypt.

In no other western country does the Suez Canal Company have such ties with financial and industrial circles as it does in France. In no other country is there such a large group of people interested in the prosperity of this company. The France Presse Agency reported that the nationalization of the Suez Canal "particularly affects French financial circles, since a large part of the capital is held in France. ...It is exactly in France that all the private stock-holders are located."

While the forty-four percent of the company's stock owned in Great Britain belongs exclusively to the British government, the fifty-two percent of the company's stocks owned in France are divided among private persons, the great majority of which are large property-owners. And for each share, with a nominal value of 250 francs, the company paid earnings of 7,246 francs in 1955! It is difficult to find in the capitalist world an enterprise which would provide such high profits! In the Administrative Council of the Suez Canal Company, composed of 32 directors, there were sixteen Frenchmen. And each of them received an enormous salary; thus, in 1955, they earned 7,000,000 francs merely for attending meetings once a month. The French bourgeoisie received a total net profit of at least 5 billion francs from the exploitation of the Suez Canal in 1955, according to rough estimates!

While the Suez Canal Company in Egypt was a "state within a state," in France it formed part of those powerful forces which ran the government behind the scenes. The French directors in the Administrative Council represent the largest French banks: The Paris-Netherlands Bank, the Indo-China Bank (the Lazard, Rothschild and Schneider-Creusot groups), the Bank of Industrial and Commercial Credit, the Lyons Bank, and many financial and industrial firms.

The following examples explain how the affiliations were made between the Suez Canal Company and the financial and industrial monopolies of France. Since 1948, the President of the company has been François Charles-Roux -- the former French Ambassador to the Vatican and the former

General Secretary of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. While he headed the Suez Canal Company, he was simultaneously a member of the board of the Paris-Netherlands Bank, the Société Marseillaise de Crédit, the Compagnie Française de l'Afrique Occidentale, the Land Bank of Egypt, the President of the Comité Central de la France d'Outre-Mer, and so forth.

Members of the board of the Suez Canal Company (Pierre Fournier, Emile Minost, Jacques Georges-Picot (General Manager of the company), Melchior de Vogüé, Humbert de Wendel, Emmanuel Monick, and others) are also representatives of many large financial and industrial monopolies. Leading politicians in France were directly interested in Suez Canal Company profits.

But the threat to the profits gained from the exploitation of the Suez Canal was not the only reason why the French monopolistic circles demanded a military intervention in Egypt. They were also concerned over their investments in nearly all branches of the Egyptian economy -- in water supply, gas production, electricity, municipal transportation, trade, and so forth. These investments amount to the colossal sum of 450 billion francs. The owners of these investments were concerned lest the nationalization of the Suez Canal would lead to the nationalization by Egypt of branches of the economy which had been controlled by French monopolists.

Finally, one cannot ignore the particular interest of the oil monopolies in the Suez Canal, who were frightened lest the nationalization of the Suez Canal would be a signal for the nationalization of the oil industry being exploited by them in other Near Eastern countries.

It was for these reasons that the financial and monopolistic circles in France inspired the policy of aggression against Egypt.

At the very height of the loud campaign for military intervention in Egypt, at the end of August 1956, the scandalous "affair of the checks" came out into the open. The editors of many Paris newspapers received letters from the former management of the Suez Canal Company, in which it was proposed that the newspapers defend the interests of this company, which was nationalized by the legal owner of the Suez Canal -- Egypt. To each of these letters was attached a check for 100,000 francs!

Honest newspapers at once indignantly informed their readers of this attempted bribery. The American Associated Press agency reported that the heads of the former Suez Canal Company, "placed in a difficult position," acknowledged that they had sent the checks to the newspaper editors. They called it a mistake. But the press which directly displayed the points of view of the monopolists, including La vie française and Information, began to preach openly a "crusade" against Egypt. The first

prize in this field, without any doubt, was won by the newspaper Aux Ecoutes de la Finance. In an article with the heading "Oil Before Everything," it wrote in August 1956: "It is necessary to act quickly and without warning. Two or three divisions of parachute troops located on Cyprus can be sent in one night to the oil fields... The territory of Kuwait, which alone will produce 60,000,000 tons of oil this year (31.5 percent of all the Middle East's production), has a population of only 200,000!... Is it conceivable that 60,000,000 tons of oil, sixty percent of the vital requirements of Europe, be under the control of 200,000 persons!... But to whom should this oil belong? To the people who lived around it as if it did not exist, or to the European and Western industry which developed this oil by its own efforts? There is no doubt that the civilized nations have an overriding right to use this oil. This overriding right must be decisively defended."

"Economic sanctions against Egypt are insufficient," concluded the newspaper. "The necessity of military intervention must be acknowledged."

Regardless of the national interests of the country, the monopolistic circles instigated France to undertake the criminal aggression against Egypt.

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Such are the facts. They convincingly show that French post-war foreign policy -- a policy of military blocs, the armament of West Germany and the preparation of war -- is determined exclusively by the interests of French monopoly capital. This policy is followed for the sake of the trusts' profits, although it represents a deathly threat to the national interests of France and to the cause of peace. This policy is being revealed more and more as the leaders of the French patronat ever more insolently and cynically dictate their will to the great and glorious nation which has made an invaluable contribution to the progress of mankind. The French writer Anatole France wrote with distress and indignation: "After France had liberated itself from the power of the kings and emperors, and had thrice proclaimed her independence, she fell under the power of the financial companies which had seized the riches of the country...."

Since these words were written, the omnipotence of the magnates of capital in France has revealed itself in an even more insolent and unconcealed form. And their anti-national activity is having even more disastrous results, since it is directed towards preparing and unleashing an atomic war which would threaten the very existence of France.

It is therefore not surprising that the patriotic forces, constantly becoming stronger, are taking a stand against parasitic French capitalism and its policy of national betrayal.

The forces of national rebirth in France are growing, striving to change French policy and to subordinate it to the interests of the people.

The Bank of War

A. Alekseyev

At the end of 1955, a French journalist asked several dozen Parisians chosen at random on the street: "Who in France, in your opinion, has done the greatest harm to the cause of peace in the last few years?" The majority of those asked named the Indo-China Bank. Indeed, in France the concepts "I. B." and war have almost been synonyms for a long time. When gunpowder begins to reek again in the French colonies, the French say: "Cherchez la Banque de l'Indochine" (look for the Indo-China Bank).

The name "I. B." is associated with a number of protracted colonial wars which French imperialism has conducted in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

The "I. B." bears a large part of the responsibility for the sanguinary events of recent years in Morocco, Tunis and Madagascar. The patriots of Algeria fighting for the independence of their country properly consider the "I. B." as one of their worst enemies.

This bank was one of the inspirers of the bloody Suez adventure of the British, French and Israeli aggressors, who attacked the peace-loving Egyptian people on the night of 30 October 1956.

The bank's magnates are dreaming of regaining their former possessions in China with the aid of Chiang Kai-shek.

Even in South America, the pernicious influence of this Parisian bank is clearly being felt. Whenever a routine reactionary military revolution takes place in any of the South American countries, prices shoot up for the stocks of the South American companies in which the "I. B." has invested.

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The Indo-China Bank has existed for over eighty years. Its entire history is that of a business based on the oppression of colonial and dependent peoples and on unrestrained military speculations and frauds.

The "I. B." was established in Paris at the beginning of 1875 as the result of an agreement among five of the largest of the French private banks on the joint exploitation of the new French colonies. Its organizers were the Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas, which financed trade in goods from the colonies; Crédit Industriel et Commercial, a union of a group of Catholic banking establishments controlling various branches of French industry and trade; the bank Société Générale, representing the interests of the great industrial group of Schneider; and the credit-issuing banks, Crédit Lyonnais and Comptoir National d'Escomptes de Paris. (At present the last three banks are nationalized.)

At the time that the "I. B." was established, French positions on the Indo-China peninsula were not at all firm. It is true that in 1862 the French imperialists, after a long and bloody war, were able to impose a one-sided peace treaty upon the Annamese emperor and to seize Cambodia in 1867. Still, the population of Vietnam and Cambodia did not lay down their arms. Life was still hot for the French colonizers in Indo-China. Vietnamese guerillas and units of Chinese volunteers, the so-called "Black Banners," continued their heroic fight against the foreign invaders. Under these conditions, the "I. B." directed its main efforts towards financing and organizing regular military operations against the peoples of Indo-China who were fighting for their freedom.

Experts and advisers of the "I. B." accompanied the French troops in their military campaigns deep in the interior of the country, while the central branch of the bank in Indo-China became a second general staff of the French armed forces on the peninsula. Receiving extensive support and aid from the French ruling circles and the Vatican, the bank did not spare either the French soldiers or money. Additional French troops were being constantly dispatched to Indo-China. But, despite all the efforts of the colonizers and the vast military superiority of their forces, it was not until 1884 that France was able to establish formally its protectorate over Vietnam. In Laos the protectorate was established even later, in 1893.

In addition to planning and financing military measures, the leaders of the "I. B.," its "brain trust," consisting of representatives of the largest French financial and industrial groupings, from the very beginning of the bank's existence began to take energetic measures for carrying out its plans for the economic enslavement of the occupied territory. A French newspaper at that time stated that the stockholders of the "I. B." had great hopes that the "economic mastery" of the new colony would bring them great profits. It is true that there was ample basis for such hopes.

Indo-China, which is rightly considered the pearl of Southeast Asia, is one of the richest areas of the world. The rich tropical soil, as well as the abundant warmth and moisture, makes it possible to reap up to two, and in some areas three, harvests a year. The aboriginal population of Indo-China, before the seizure of the country by the colonizers, had for many centuries not only fed itself but also always carried on an extensive trade in agricultural products with neighboring countries.

The plant and animal life of Indo-China is famous for its variety and richness.

In the peninsula's thick forests grow rose-colored, red, black, "iron" and many other rare varieties of trees. In most of the country's districts conditions are especially favorable for growing coffee and rubber and other valuable tropical and semi-tropical crops.

Indo-China is rich in iron ore, zinc, lead, tin, manganese, coal, copper, gold and many other valuable minerals.

Setting the seizure of the country's natural resources as its goal, the Indo-China Bank undertook a systematic and planned attempt to carry out this aim.

During the first period of its existence, its primary efforts were directed towards seizing land in the accessible plains of the peninsula. At the same time, the bank invested considerable sums in road construction, seeking to create the conditions for exporting agricultural products and raw materials for industry from the country.

The seizure of land by the bank, either directly or through various joint companies, was carried out very intensively. By the beginning of the twentieth century, it became, to all intents and purposes, the owner of nearly all the best land on the peninsula. By 1900, the land holdings of European colonizers in Indo-China totalled 322,000 hectares.

On the seized lands, the "I. B.," both directly and through its lessees, established vast plantations which soon provided its stockholders with enormous income since the labor of the Vietnamese peasants was barely paid for.

At first the colonizers grew chiefly rice on their plantations, about three quarters of the land seized being devoted to this purpose. Gradually an increasing amount of land was allotted to the production of rubber. While 298 tons of rubber were exported from Indo-China in 1915, according to official French statistics, in 1938 the figure was 60,000 tons, and in 1953, 75,000 tons.

In 1952, the French rubber plantations occupied 70,000 hectares. The most important of them belong to subsidiary companies of the "I. B.": Plantations Réunies de Mimot, Société Indochinoise Des Cultures Tropicales, and Caoutchouc de l'Indochine.

It also received a large income from its coffee and tea plantations, which formally belonged to the companies Hauts Plateaux Indochinois and Société des Plantations Indochinoises de Thé.

The data given above describes quite clearly the expansion of the "I. B." in Indo-Chinese agriculture. But they do not by any means cover all its activities. After seizing enormous areas of land, the bank

established various companies there to exploit the country's raw material resources; in every way it supported the mining of valuable raw materials. It placed the output of coal, tungsten, phosphates and salt under its control. The raw materials obtained on the peninsula underwent only the most necessary preliminary processing on the spot, and then were exported from Indo-China.

From the very beginning of its existence, the "I. B." undeviatingly carried out a plundering colonial policy to convert the economy of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula into a dependent annexation of France. To describe this phase of its activities, one need only cite a few statistics concerning Indo-China's trade with the western countries, which, for all intents and purposes, meant with France.

In 1901, Indo-China imported from Europe finished goods, some agricultural products and household goods amounting to 202,000,000 francs, and exported mineral raw materials in the sum of 161,000,000 francs. In the course of the next forty years, the gross total of trade between Indo-China and the western countries doubled. During the same period the material situation of the population of Indo-China became much worse. From year to year hunger and poverty increased in the country, and the population was dying out from excessive labor and social diseases.

The "I. B." did not limit itself only to the exploitation of the natural resources of the country. Its magnates obtained the right for the bank to issue money in Indo-China and then skillfully used this right as one of the means to enslave Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia economically. By flooding the country with paper piasters and, with the assistance of the French government, by establishing an exchange rate between piasters and francs which was profitable to the bank, the "I. B." acquired the opportunity for unlimited financial speculations which brought it record-breaking super-profits.

After having conquered Indo-China by fire and sword and having converted it into its own private estate, the "I. B." soon became one of the largest and most influential banks in France, in many cases imposing its will upon the French government.

The bank's capital, which originally amounted to 8,000,000 francs, grew a hundred-fold by 1945 and was 250 times the original amount in 1954.

On the eve of World War II, the sphere of the bank's activities had grown so much that in reality the term "Indo-China" in its name had become only nominal.

Together with the banking house of Rothschild, the banks De Paris et Des Pays-Bas, Worms, Lazard Frères et Cie, and several others, the Indo-China Bank occupied at this time one of the leading positions in the financial oligarchy which was for all practical purposes governed France.

Among its large shareholders were the Baroness Rothschild, the politician Paul Boncourt, François Mauriac, René Smadja, and many other leading Frenchmen.

In 1939, the bank had representatives in London, Singapore, Tokyo, Hong Kong, China, Siam, Saudi Arabia, Ethiopia, Tangiers, the Hebrides, San Francisco, Johannesburg, Lausanne, and in a number of French colonies.

Its experience in the exploitation of Indo-China enabled the bank to deal successfully with its competitors and to win more and more bases for its predatory expansion.

* * *

Gradually, the "I. B." acquired influence over a number of less powerful banks and took over about eighty credit companies (the Franco-Chinese, the Franco-Japanese, the Franco-Italian for South America, Sabbag, and other banks).

By 1952, financial income from Indo-China, according to the bank's own statistics, represented half of its earnings.

Faced with the irresistible growth of the national liberation movement in the colonies, the Indo-China Bank sought to put off its inevitable fall by diversifying its investments.

Its expansion into other countries and colonies was in general characterized by the same forms and methods which it had used in Indo-China. First came the seizure of land and mineral deposits, then the predatory exploitation of the more accessible natural resources, and finally the importation of goods at speculative prices from the mother country into the areas where the bank had established strong positions. In French North Africa and in other French African possessions, the "I. B." gradually purchased shares of companies already operating and of local banks.

In the Near East, it employed the Banque Sabbag as its direct representative and intermediary, and in Brazil, Uruguay, Mexico and Canada it has invested large sums in a number of companies, chiefly engaged in agriculture and trade. It is coordinating its activities on the American continent with American monopolies, and in return for their support is providing them with assistance in Africa.

As in Indo-China, the activities of the "I. B." in the French overseas colonies and abroad have a predatory and colonial character. It is mercilessly exploiting the native population and is extorting colossal super-profits from them, ignoring all accepted human norms and laws.

Within France, the Indo-China Bank's investments are chiefly in industrial enterprises processing raw materials from the colonies. This policy has given it the opportunity of receiving a double profit: first, through supplying its enterprises in the mother country with cheap raw materials, and, secondly, by selling the finished products of these enterprises at monopolistically high prices in the colonies and other countries.

It is very difficult to give a full picture of the nature of the investments of "I. B." within France, since such information is kept secret. Nevertheless, it is known that the bank is financing a number of companies engaged in the production of sugar, rubber and wine, in the processing of precious metals and mineral ores, in trade in consumer goods in the colonies, and so forth. In addition, it is participating directly and indirectly in a number of transportation and insurance firms. Representatives of the bank sit on the boards of a dozen other banks, firms and trusts. But regardless of how large its role as a holding company in the mother country (that is, investing capital in various enterprises), it has been and remains today primarily a colonial bank, and its income derives almost entirely from investments in other companies outside the mother country. The Indo-China Bank from the time of its establishment has regarded and continues to regard its primary purpose as preserving and expanding its "empire" at any cost. Among the methods most willingly used by the bank for these purposes, its magnates have consistently given and are continuing to give priority to war.

During the entire history of the bank, bloody adventures have been its best source of income and the most basic method of consolidating and broadening its expansion. The bank has always and everywhere supported these adventures and has used them for its own enrichment.

For twenty-five years war raged on the fields of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. French capital has consolidated its positions on the Indo-Chinese Peninsula with the aid of bloody military repressions.

During World War I, the "I. B." undertook substantial speculations in deliveries of military supplies. The profits paid to stockholders rose from 6,000,000 to 30,000,000 francs.

In 1927, defending the interests of the "I. B." and other French monopolies, French troops again began military operations in Southern Vietnam. They crushed a rebellion of Vietnamese farm laborers -- coolies, working on the French rubber plantations. In 1930, French troops drowned the vast Yen Bay rebellion in blood, and later did the same with the peasant uprising in Central Vietnam.

But a new height in its activities inimical to the cause of peace was attained by the "I. B." after the popular democratic revolution took place against the French invaders in Indo-China in August 1945.

In the declaration proclaiming the republic, the Vietnamese revolutionaries, describing the rule established by the French colonizers in Indo-China, stated:

"They deprived us of all our freedoms. They imposed inhuman laws upon us.... They built more prisons than schools. They dealt mercilessly with our patriots. They drowned the national movement in rivers of blood.... They made drunkards of us and poisoned us with opium in order to weaken our people. They shamelessly exploited us, plunged us into the most frightful poverty and mercilessly devastated our country. They unscrupulously plundered our rice plantations, mines, forests and raw materials. They appropriated to themselves the right to issue bank notes and monopolized all of our foreign trade.

"They schemed up hundreds of baseless taxes, forcing our fellow-countrymen, especially the peasants and small tradesmen, to live in dreadful poverty.... They exploited our workers in the most barbarous fashion."

After carrying out its revolution in August, 1945, the Vietnamese people firmly resolved to put an end once and for all to the domination of the predatory Indo-China Bank in its country. In reply, the "I. B." again turned to its well-tried method of defending its super-profits -- to war.

Under the direct pressure of the "I. B.," the French government in 1946 unleashed a new colonial, predatory war in Indo-China, which the French people justly called the "dirty war." During this war, the criminal role of the "I. B." became especially clear, showing it to be a bank of war, violence, plunder of colonies, and speculation.

* * *

The "dirty war" in Indo-China began in the fall of 1946. In launching it, the French colonizers rudely violated the treaty signed on 6 March 1946 with the people's democratic government of Vietnam, according to which France recognized the Democratic Republic of Vietnam as a "free state, having its own government, parliament, army and finances."

When the guns began to rumble again on the battlefields of Indo-China, the "I. B.," acting jointly with the Rivaud group, the Lazard Frères et Cie., and Worms banks, and several other financial and monopolistic groups directly interested in the exploitation of Indo-China,

took all the measures it could to broaden and intensify the armed conflict. In every way the French financial oligarchy supported the militaristic aspirations of the Indo-China Bank and its monopolistic partners, since the war was bringing it further super-profits.

The United States of America also actively urged France to undertake the "dirty war." It promised the French colonizers assistance in every way. This promise was kept. At first this was done secretly. But after June 1950, when it unleashed aggression in Korea, the United States openly supported the French armed forces in the war against the Indo-Chinese peoples. In this, the United States counted on the intensification and broadening of the conflict there with the hope of weakening both sides. Then it planned to interfere in the conflict and to seize the French positions on the peninsula.

The French deployed an army of 100,000 men in Vietnam. In the early stages, the colonizers' troops were able to win some victories, but soon the Vietnamese people began to strike smashing retaliatory blows against the interventionists.

The French colonizers' plans, based on a lightning war and a quick victory, fell through. The war became a protracted one. The high patriotism, selfless courage and the unexampled heroism of the Indo-Chinese peoples blocked the aggressors' plans. The "I. B." empire was falling apart at the seams. The workers on the rubber and rice plantations left their work and went into the forests, joining the People's Liberation Army. Work in the mines and other enterprises of the bank went on only under the protection of military reinforcements.

After becoming convinced that popular resistance could not be broken by military superiority alone, the French colonizers launched a reign of brutal terror on the territory they controlled against both the soldiers of the Vietnamese Army and the civilian population of the country.

The colonizers made use of the most savage forms of repression in their struggle against the Vietnamese. In 1949, three hundred miners at Hon Gai, working in the mines of one of the companies connected with the "I. B.," were, "in the interests of intimidation" thrown into the sea with their hands tied together with steel cables.

In December, 1952, the French forces, in the course of routine operations in a village, seized an eighty-year-old man who was not able to flee. They set fire to his clothes and then threw him into a burning house. The bandits dealt similarly with a group of old men under arrest; they poured gasoline on them and threw them into a fire.

In pursuing their fire and sword policy, the colonizers did not spare monuments of the past or religious establishments. In many pagodas they destroyed all the statues in search of gold; a number of temples were completely destroyed.

In August 1952, the Vietnamese Information Agency reported from Northern Vietnam:

"In the province of Kuang Yen (Northern Vietnam) the French troops often make Vietnamese women their prisoners in the course of their predatory raids.

"On one occasion they drove some Vietnamese women with children to the bank of a river and ordered them to throw the children into the river; in the event that they did not obey, they threatened to shoot both the women and the children. Since the women held the children still closer to them and refused to obey this inhuman order, the French bandits seized the children, threw them into bamboo baskets, lowered the baskets into the river and began to shoot at them as if they were targets. Many women threw themselves into the river to save their children and were shot by the French bandits."

Often the colonizers, attacking the women, pinned them to the ground with bayonets, together with their children. The aggressors' crimes every day became more brutal and inhuman.

But no repressions or terror were able to break the resistance of the Vietnamese. Then, at the initiative of the "I. B.," the French authorities undertook a "scorched earth" policy in Indo-China, calculating that with hunger as a weapon they would be able to force the people to lay down their arms.

As an example of the methods to which the colonizers resorted in following this policy, we may cite the order issued by the commander of the French forces in North Vietnam, General de Linares, in March 1951. Paragraph 2 of this order states:

"Section 2. Destruction. There are basically two methods which can be used:

"(1) To soak the rice, either by pouring water over it or by leaving it out in the open during the rainy season.

"However, to ensure rotting, the rice must be soaked for 48 hours; so that there may be no doubt as to the destruction of the supplies, it is necessary to make certain that during this period the population does not come to remove the rice and place the salvagable part of the rice under cover.

"(2) To pour benzine or gasoline on it; in the case of the discovery of especially large supplies, it is necessary that the air force be requested to drop cans of benzine."

In the North Vietnam region alone, the colonizers barbarously destroyed 13,700 hectares of rice plantations.

However, the "scorched earth" policy did not bring victory to the colonizers either.

The war cost Indo-China enormous losses in lives. It was accompanied by vast destruction and caused irreparable damage to the economy of the country. During the war, precious monuments of the centuries-old culture of the Vietnamese people were destroyed. The losses caused by the war amount to astronomical figures.

France, in conducting the "dirty war," also lost substantially in men and materials. In an official statement of the French Committee for the Study and Settlement of the War in Vietnam, the results of the war for France were described as follows:

"The continuation of the war in Indo-China is causing indescribable suffering. The war has cost both sides hundreds of thousands of deaths. It is disturbing the moral feelings and the conscience of the majority of Frenchmen...."

"The 400 or 500 billions of francs annually which the war in Indo-China is costing France is regularly causing a deficit in its budget, aggravating inflation and making any form of stabilization of the currency impossible.

"Because of this, it is impossible to improve the living standards of the French people and particularly to build hundreds of thousands of buildings which are now needed...."

However, despite the fact that France had really been defeated in the first years of the war and despite the opposition of French public opinion to the "dirty war" in Vietnam, the war continued for almost eight years.

The "I. B." made use of all its influence both in France and abroad. It sought to have the French troops spill their blood as long as possible on the battlefields of Indo-China, since the war was bringing the bank colossal profits.

The principal source of profits for the bank during the war proved to be speculation with piasters. Income from this increased as the war came to have fewer hopes and results.

According to unofficial calculations, "I. B." profits from this speculation reached 200 billion francs a year. By exercising its right to issue currency in Indo-China until 1947, and then with the aid of the obedient financial departments of the puppet Bao Dai government, the "I. B." during the war artificially devaluated the Indo-Chinese currency, simultaneously supporting a disproportionately high official exchange rate. One piaster was exchanged for seventeen francs, although in reality it was worth only eight or nine. This enabled the bank's agents to carry out innumerable speculative currency transactions in Indo-China. They bought up piasters for almost nothing and sent them by various thieving machinations to France. Exchanging them there for francs, they made enormous profits through robbing the French treasury.

Although these dark machinations of the "I. B." were kept carefully concealed, some of them were accidentally made known and drew the attention of a large part of the French public. At the demand of the progressive deputies, the National Assembly of France was compelled to set up a special commission to investigate the dirty machinations of the operators of the Indo-China Bank. The commission discovered that outstanding politicians of the country were involved in the bank's machinations.

"The investigation showed," announced the Communist Kriegel-Valrimont in the National Assembly, "that the speculation in piasters was organized more cleverly, subtly and cunningly than is known to the public. The transfer of piasters, though illegal and deleterious to the country, amounted to hundreds of billions of francs, and it is even difficult to establish the number of witnesses to the machinations who paid with their lives only because they knew too much."

Despite the obvious criminal nature of these speculations, the official investigation into them did not produce any results. The affair was suppressed by the bank's protectors in high places.

Another major source of income for the "I. B." during the war was through the devaluation of the piaster. The devaluation led to an unbridled rise in prices in the country. Thus, for example, after the devaluation of May 1953, the wages of workers in South Vietnam fell by thirty to fifty percent.

The devaluation enabled the agents of the "I. B.," who bought Indo-Chinese goods for practically nothing, to gain additional profits for the products imported from France, which were sold in the market for higher prices.

During the war, the profits of the "I. B." rose from 49,000,000 to 638,000,000 francs. During this period, the bank's capital, according to official statistics, grew from 157 million to 2 billion francs, and the capital of all the firms connected with the bank, to 16 billion francs.

According to a leading French politician, Mitterrand, the government spent three trillion francs in taxpayers' money on the war in Indo-China. The total damage caused to France by this war is even larger than this astronomical figure.

In 1954, after the severe defeat at Dien Bien Phu, the French ruling circles were obliged to give up their military operations in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. On July 21, 1954, an agreement on ending the war in Indo-China was signed at Geneva.

In a difficult, bloody war the peoples of Indo-China won a well-deserved victory and saved their national independence.

The owners of the Indo-China Bank drew their own conclusions from the military defeat of France. At the end of the war, the bank removed a large part of its investments from Indo-China and transferred them to safer places.

* * *

After the collapse of the French aggression in Indo-China, the "I. B.," seeking new spheres in which to use its capital, began to pay particular attention to the French possessions in Africa. As the basic means for its expansion in Algeria and Tunis, the bank made use of the Crédit Foncier d'Algerie et de Tunisie Company, while in Morocco it used the Banque Industrielle de l'Afrique du Nord. In Black Africa it took over a number of commercial and land banks, through which it created several companies to mine iron, graphite, gold and other ores. Furthermore, to strengthen its positions in Africa, the Indo-China Bank made extensive use of the right to issue currency in the French possessions in Oceania, French Equatorial Africa, New Caledonia and Togoland.

After Chiang Kai-shek had been driven from China, the "I. B." transferred the capital of its Franco-Chinese Bank to Madagascar.

Thus, as in Indo-China, agents of the "I. B." soon once more became participants in the hostilities in Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria. The bank embarked upon particularly extensive activity in Algeria. Together with the other large French monopolies, it persistently urged the French government to undertake ever more severe repressions against the freedom-loving Algerian people and in the long run contributed to the launching of the war in Algeria. "Algeria is becoming another Indo-China," the American newspaper, New York World Telegram and Sun, stated at the end of 1956.

When the British, French and Israeli troops attacked Egypt in November 1956 overt and covert agents of the "I. B." in France and abroad let out such shouts of joy that the bank's participation also in this

military adventure became clear. How could it fail to be a participant? It is well known that the board of directors of the Suez Canal Company includes Emile Minost, Chairman of the Board of the "I. B.," as well as a number of his representatives. According to unofficial information, he owned a considerable number of shares in the Suez Canal Company.

When the British, French and Israeli aggression against Egypt failed and a severe blow had been dealt to France's position in the Near East, the "I. B." undertook urgent additional measures to protect its interests in Africa. It decided to come to an agreement with its more powerful rivals and competitors. In December 1956, the "European Consortium for the Development of the Natural Resources of Africa" was established in Luxembourg. This consortium, "Consafrica," as it is called for short in the French press, is now one of the principal undertakings of the bank, as has been admitted by sources close to the "I. B." With its aid it plans to conquer Africa, lay its hands on the natural resources of the Sahara, and, if necessary, defend its "African empire" by force.

The bank owns twenty percent of the capital of "Consafrica."

In establishing the new consortium, the "I. B." has turned to its old tactics, which it had tested as far back as the Vichy period. At that time the bank participated in a company, Société de Crédit Intercontinental, created at the initiative of the German monopolies and the American ones supporting them, and setting as its goal the plundering of the European countries occupied by the Hitlerites, their colonies in Africa, and other areas. The director of the bank, Paul Baudouin, was a minister in the Petain government. This time the consortium is setting itself a more limited goal, the plunder of Africa.

Not satisfied with the establishment of a consortium in Luxembourg, the Indo-China Bank's agents in the French Parliament hurriedly rushed through a new law to unify the administration of the French possessions in the Sahara in order to facilitate the operations of "Consafrica."

On 14 December 1956, the National Assembly passed this law, called the law on the "General Organization of the Regions of the Sahara." In connection with this decision of the National Assembly, the France Presse Agency reported:

"The administrative reorganization under discussion will facilitate the development of an area nine times as large as France. According to the latest estimates, in a few years it will be able to satisfy a quarter of the mother country's demands for oil. Also, large reserves of coal, copper, iron and uranium have been found."

Progressive public opinion in France, alarmed by the new machinations of the bank and its partners, properly regards "Consafrika" as threatening more speculations and fraud, more colonial plunder, and additional wars and robbery on the African continent.

Such is the Indo-China Bank -- a bank of war and colonial violence, a bank of robbery and fraud. In seeking to save the colonialism which is now doomed, as well as the degenerating colonial empire of France, the "I. B." is weaving a web of war. But it is becoming constantly more difficult to carry out its policy of robbery; the peoples of Africa and other countries have drawn all the lessons necessary from the failure of the aggressive plans of the colonizers in Indo-China, Tunisia, Morocco, and Egypt.

The Traitor Bank

A. Alekseyev

It is difficult to measure the privations and sufferings which France endured during the years of the second world war. The Hitlerite occupiers were striving to transform it from a great power into a province of small importance of the Nazi Reich, and the proud French people into their obedient slaves. For this purpose they robbed and murdered the French men and women with unlimited brutality, jeered at the great French culture and the glorious freedom-loving traditions of the country, undermined its economy in every way and barbarously destroyed its natural resources. According to the following figures, which are far from complete, the German aggression cost France 802,000 killed, 40 trillion francs in losses (in francs of 1951), 452,000 destroyed homes, 1,436,000 damaged buildings, 51,000 ruined farms, 49,500 destroyed enterprises, 4,010 destroyed bridges, etc. The war brought grief and unhappiness to millions of French people, left hundreds of thousands of unfortunate cripples and orphans, reduced entire regions of the country to terrible poverty.... And in spite of all this, in France again are heard voices glorifying the killing of mankind and militarism. The reactionary pen-pushers exalt the recent bloody Anglo-French-Israeli venture in the Sinai peninsula and call for new military provocations. And again, just as it was on the eve of the second world war, the criminal agents-provocateurs and the war-mongers of a new war have influential defenders and patrons, who are dreaming of doing "business" on the blood and sufferings of their countrymen. The discussion below will deal with one of these "businessmen" --- the French bank of Worms.

* * *

The Bank of Worms belongs to a number of the most influential finance-industrial groups in France, privately owned, but the real proprietors of the country. In its financial power, it is inferior to the banks of Rothschild, Lazar, Mirabeau and a number of other of the most important banking

houses. Nevertheless the Bank of Worms merits being singled out among other pillars of the French financial oligarchy, because it is more and more acquiring fame as the most "dynamic" bank of the country, and as one of the principal monopolists in the field of the atomic industry, which is new for France.

Characterizing the mercenary aristocracy of his time, Cardinal Richlieu in his time said: "If it were possible to buy all of France, they would buy France from France itself." These words involuntarily come to mind upon acquaintance with the past and the present activity of the Bank of Worms.

The Bank of Worms is a young plunderer. It was only founded in 1927 as a trade company, at the head of which was the large ship owner Ippolit Worms. The bank was created as a private joint-stock company. But the decisive role in it, from the time of its establishment, has been played, and is being played by the members of the Worms family, who depend in their turn upon financial aid and support from the Lazar family, with which Ippolit Worms is connected by blood ties.

At first the bank engaged, on the whole, in the financing of industrial and trade operations, in which the company of Worms had specialized formerly (trade of coal and non-ferrous metals, the transport of freight by sea, ship building, etc.). The affairs of the young bank proceeded poorly: it was overpowered by stronger and more deft competitors. Several times it was on the verge of failure and avoided it only by means of successfully carried out speculative operations, and direct support by the Lazar bank. During this period the bank acquired the reputation of being an adventurer, prepared, for the sake of profit, for any of the most shady transactions; this reputation was well maintained. It is necessary to say that the majority of French banks does not shun improper speculations, but the Bank of Worms, having started speculative ventures, far surpassed its fellows and competitors in this respect. This could not be conducive to an increase of the number of its clients: the first years of the bank's existence passed by in an atmosphere of uncertainty as to the future and pessimism.

But in the beginning of the thirties, soon after Hitler's coming to power in Germany, the affairs of the Bank of Worms began, unexpectedly for many, to improve quickly. It established close contact with a number of large German and Italian monopolies, carried out operations with considerable sums, both in francs as well as in foreign currency, played on the exchange, set up connections with prominent politicians of France. Simultaneously, the number of correspondents and representatives of the bank abroad increased, especially in Germany and Italy.

The secret of the unexpected prosperity of the Bank of Worms was incomprehensible to the majority of people for a long time. Only in 1934 did the facts become known to French public opinion, facts which

permitted a slight opening of the veil of secrecy which had hitherto concealed the sources from which considerable "free" funds came into the tills of the bank.

In February 1934, following the collapse of the fascist putsch which the fascist leagues operating in France at that time had prepared, it was discovered that the Bank of Worms linked the leaders of these leagues with certain French monopolies and foreign banks. But formally the activity of the bank proceeded within the "legal" limits of French law, and there were no sanctions of any kind taken against it. Inspired by this, the bank soon again began an active support of fascist elements in the country. When in the middle of 1936, the renegade Doriot created in France a fascist party, the bank quickly rendered all-round aid to it. And what is more, two of its protégés — Marion and Pouché — became part of the dominating nucleus of Doriot's party, and Doriot enjoyed extensive credit in the bank.

Simultaneously the bank, as it later turned out, was financing the secret organization of fascist spies and killers — the Cagoullards. Money of the bank was used for the organization of underground storehouses of weapons, terrorist acts, explosions, and arson. Through the Cagoullards, the bank established connections with aristocratic military circles of France.

Having finished their murderous raids and other crimes, the participants of the Cagoullard band, after the example of the Klu-Klux-Klan, put black hoods (in French the word for hood is cagoul) on for disguise. When the organization of Cagoullards was exposed, and its connections with the Bank of Worms were revealed, the progressive circles of France began to demand, that the "cagoul" be removed from the bank, that is the "hood" be taken off. However, just as in 1934, it came off scatheless. The matter of the Cagoullards was hushed up. Their protectors were Pétain, Doriot and other reactionaries, whose reputation the French ruling circles protected in every way, counting on using them in the future in their shady political game.

After the exposure of the plot of the Cagoullards, the Bank of Worms was removed from active political life for some time. Indignation of the broad masses at its pro-fascist activity was so great that the board of directors of the bank considered it useful to maneuver and wait for "better times."

These "better times" came for it after Munich. When the Munich agreement thickened on the European political horizon the clouds fore-shadowing the second world war, the Bank of Worms developed a rapid activity. Its agents became habitués in the editorial offices of French newspapers, which propagandized defeatist slogans of non-resistance to

fascism. Members of the government, connected with Pétain, Laval and other future leaders of Vichy, maintained constant contact with the bank. By the beginning of the war the Bank of Worms almost openly financed the French fascists, using the funds of French monopolies and the German intelligence service. Simultaneously it consolidated its connections with those English and American business circles, which were very much interested in its activity, directed at the support of Hitlerites and their French supporters. The old combined sympathies for the Cagoulards brought the bank together with a number of influential representatives of the London City, with whom it had established close, friendly connections. Among the Cagoulards, there were also pro-English public men: Vibeau, Fourcaut, Passé.

The money turnover of the bank began to increase not by days, but by hours. The information of the board of directors of the bank concerning all state affairs permitted it to carry out the most speculative transactions. The pre-war boom, and the feverish military activity brought many million francs of profit to the bank.

In 1940 the board of directors of the bank announced the increase of its fixed capital by 10 times -- from 4 million to 40 million francs. Simultaneously the bank began to participate in a number of joint-stock companies and in various trade transactions, which had no relation to its usual type of operations. For the sake of propriety, the board of directors explained that the financial basis of the bank was strengthened in connection with the increase of its authority and the expansion of its traditional operations. But nobody believed this explanation -- the operations and transactions of the bank formally concerned mainly sea transport, which after the beginning of the second world war not only did not increase, but, on the contrary, seriously decreased.

After the defeat of France in the war, and the coming to power of Pétain, the board of directors of the Bank of Worms openly declared its adherence to fascism. The bank began to play one of the principal roles not only in the financial, but also in the political life of Vichy. The Germans formally sequestered that part of its property, which had fallen into their hands. This, however, did not impede its activity.

When at the beginning of 1941, the cabinet of Admiral Darlan came to power, the Bank of Worms, using its old connections with the Admiral, sent its representatives to all basic organs of the government of the country. The co-manager of the bank, Jean Jacques Barneau held the post of "general delegate of the French government on questions of Franco-German economic relations." He controlled the activity of all the banks, joint-stock companies and companies in the territory of Vichy. This gave him the opportunity to create especially favorable conditions for the further enrichment of the Bank of Worms.

In this same trend, to the bank was rendered every kind of assistance by its old agent Pierre Pouchét, who, in the Vichy government, first held the position of Minister of Industrial Production, and then the position of Minister of Internal Affairs. Pouchét was not on the board of directors of the Bank of Worms, but was an administrator of one of the daughter enterprises of the bank -- the Japi Company. Pouchét used all the means and many opportunities which he obtained while holding the ministerial positions in order to secure advantageous "business" for the Bank of Worms. The war created an exceptionally favorable environment for various shady intrigues, which yielded fabulous profits.

Barneau and Pouchét, in their activity for the benefit of the Bank of Worms, helped such prominent Vichy leaders as Robert Labbe, who subsequently obtained, for services rendered, the post of co-manager of the board of directors of the bank; Baudouin, through whom the bank maintained contact with the Bank of Indo-China, and others. Even "Marshall" Pétain himself rendered services to the Bank of Worms. When Laval headed the Vichy government, into his cabinet, besides the already named protégés of the bank, came the brother of the director of the bank -- Jacques Lerois Ladouri as the Minister of Agriculture. Thus was formed the direct contact of the board of directors of the bank with the Vichy traitors, who repaid it a hundred-fold for the support which it had rendered at one time.

Important posts in the Vichy government could be obtained by the protégés of the Bank of Worms only with the consent of the German occupiers, and only because during this period, the bank, just as formerly, continued to serve the German intelligence service faithfully.

The energetic activity of the agents of the Bank of Worms in the Vichy government helped it, in the years of the war, to expand significantly the sphere of its operations both within France, as well as abroad. During this time it took over a number of its weak competitors, bought or by other means obtained a majority of the shares of the Clockner Coal Company and the joint-stock company Union of French Exporters of Northern Europe. Representatives of the bank penetrated into the board of directors of a whole series of other large banking companies and joint-stock companies in the field of navigation, trade in colonial goods, etc.

Depending upon the support and protection of the state machinery and the German occupiers, the bank obtained a multitude of special privileges in the period of power of the Vichy government. Before the landing of the Allies in Africa, the bank engaged in the export from Africa of valuable raw materials, and the resale of the raw materials to the Germans. In this connection it succeeded in obtaining a number of advantages in the field of trade with French overseas territories. Since then, and up to the present, the bank has been giving special attention to banking and trade operations connected with exploitation of the natural resources of

the French colonies. Then it was successful in establishing control over the activity of all the principal enterprises of the paper industry of France, and in obtaining the exclusive right for the import into France of wood from abroad. Using the circumstance that a considerable quantity of wood was imported into France from Sweden, the bank has been obtaining a number of advantages in trade with Sweden and, in essence, has established its private control over this trade. Its traditional activity in the field of financing of ship building, trade in coal, rare metals, etc., has also been developing more than successfully. As a result, the capital of the bank during the years of the war increased several times; its connections with other large banks and monopolies increased and became stronger.

The war helped it to enter the tight circle of the powerful French financial oligarchy.

When France was liberated, at the demand of public opinion and the progressive circles of the country, an investigation was made of the Bank of Worms and its principal leaders, and its traitorous activity became known to everybody. At the end of 1944 Ippolit Worms himself was arrested, charged with collaboration, that is, of collaboration with the enemy. However Worms' old connections with Anglo-American capital, which he had established in those years when he was financing the Cagoulard movement, and then strengthened in the Vichy period, helped him to escape the punishment which he deserved. Having spent some time in prison and bided his time until the passions had subsided, Worms was set free, and legal proceedings were not taken against him because of the "lack of direct evidence." Also the majority of the other leaders of the board of directors of the bank proved themselves in the right. And only its former agent — the Vichy Minister Pierre Pouchet — was shot as a traitor. This occurred in March 1944 in Algiers. The influential friends of the bank could then still not openly come to the aid of Pouchet, guilty of the death of Chateaubriand patriots and hundreds of other soldiers who had given up their life for France.

In the first years after the end of the second world war, the Bank of Worms kept in the background. The capital which it acquired during the war remained entirely at its disposal. The old connections with collaborationists soon again began to be useful, as many of them, depending upon the aid and support of French reaction, again held secure jobs in the French state machinery. The great experience of the bank in the field of financing anti-French activity also had not been forgotten.

Soon the bank again appeared in the foreground of the political and economic life of the country. And again it began to take a most active part in the financing of subversive activities of the enemies

of peace in France. Together with the Bank of Indo-China, the banking house of Worms supported and financed "the dirty war" in Vietnam, where it had invested significant amounts of capital. When the scandal broke because of speculation in Vietnamese piastres, the Bank of Worms, together with the Bank of Indo-China, turned out to be involved in it. However when it became obvious that the war had been lost, the Bank of Worms liquidated its capital investments in Indo-China. It in particular sold its share in the enterprise Distillery d'Indochine, and then began to support the circles which stood for the transfer of the center of gravity of the French colonial policy to the African possessions. Such a position found ardent approval in the USA, where, by this time, Southern Indo-China was already considered an American possession.

The sphere of the use of the capital of the Bank of Worms and its activity continuously increased. Ten years after the end of the second world war its tentacles have spread literally into all parts of the French Union and of France itself. To describe completely all the numerous connections of the bank with other financial and industrial groups of France, as well as all aspects of the activity of enterprises controlled by it, is very difficult. The real owners of France -- the financial tycoons and monopolies -- do not like to reveal their secrets unnecessarily, and they are secrets better guarded than the most important military objectives. However some specific data concerning individual aspects of the activity of the bank are known, and through this data it is possible to get an idea of its role in the economic and political life of France at the present time.

Judging by the official reports of the bank and other sources, operations in the field of sea transport continue to remain the special sphere of its activity. The bank has at its disposal more than 5 percent of all the French merchant fleet and 30 percent of the tanker fleet. By means of various companies, it controls up to 20 percent of the production in the field of shipbuilding. Its principal central enterprise is the joint-stock company Worms and Co., registered officially as a firm which engages in shipbuilding, trade in oil and coal, freight, and banking operations. This company has at its disposal 400 million francs as the capital with which it was chartered, and has its representatives in 11 of the largest ports of the country, and also numerous subsidiaries abroad: in Egypt, England, Holland and other countries. At the head of the company is the very same Ippolit Worms. The former Vichy leaders Jacques Barneau and Robert Labb, and a creature of the Bank of Rothschild, a certain Raymon Minial, are co-directors of the company.

In addition to the shares of Worms and Co., the bank owns shares in dozens of enterprises in the most diverse branches of industry. Its capital investments are especially significant in the machine-building,

mining, and chemical industries, insurance, and foreign trade. A special place in the activity of the Bank of Worms is allotted to the exploitation of colonies. It controls the Compagnie d'Afrique Noire, has a considerable amount of shares in the Industrial Bank of North Africa, which is controlled by the Bank of Indo-China. The Bank of Worms directs the activity of dozens of joint-stock companies in French Equatorial and Western Africa, in the Congo and Madagascar. Together with the Bank of Indo-China and other banks and monopolies, the Bank of Worms zealously protects its capital in the colonies, openly finances the war in Algeria, advancing as a violent enemy of the liberation movement of the peoples of Africa.

In addition to the enterprises and companies which the Bank of Worms dominates, it also participates, through its capital, in many enterprises and companies which belong to other monopolistic and financial groups. Jointly with the Lazar Bank and the Bank of Indo-China, the Worm group participates in a number of companies which have a monopoly on public works contracts. This closely connects it with the influential officials and helps it actively to influence the state machinery of France.

Jointly with the Lazar Bank, the Worms group participates in a number of insurance companies, which have a widely branched network of their representatives in all regions of France.

Half of all the shares of the Terr-rar Chemical Products Company, which the Bank of Worms owns, provides it a direct contact with the influential monopolistic group of Pechiney. Together with the Bank of Indo-China it controls the French market in rare and precious metals. Through the Telma Television Company in Morocco, the bank is connected with the Bloc-Dacco Group, which specializes in aircraft construction. Together with this group the bank actively supported the government of Mendes-France in 1954-1955 and, as many French newspapers asserted, directed his foreign and domestic political activity.

A number of connections of the group of the Bank of Worms linked it with American capital. Under the "Marshall Plan," the bank carried out the functions of a middleman in conducting the financial operations of this plan. Jointly with the Pan-American Chemical Company, the bank controls the company "Society for the Study of the Use of Oxi-Catalysts." Together with the Dewey and Allmi Chemical Group it controls the Darex Company and, finally, jointly with American Research -- the Safimo Company.

The Safimo business concern, created in 1948 on the initiative of the Bank of Worms, specializes in the introduction into industry of achievements of modern physics, including atomic energy. In the creation of Safimo, together with the Bank of Worms, participated representatives of a number of other important French and American monopolies.

Safimo succeeded in capturing the monopoly for industrial use in France of synthetic radioactivity, and in establishing actual control over all the principal work carried out in France in the field of utilization of atomic energy both for peaceful, as well as for military purposes. The Bank of Worms, interested in the development primarily of the military atomic industry, is connected with the most aggressive circles of the country, which makes appeals for the creation of "the French atomic super bomb." And the interests of the bank in the field of the chemical industry most closely connect it with the French military clique which attaches special significance to the activity of the Terr-rar Chemical Products Company, which is engaged in the mining and processing of uranium. This company has now created subsidiaries in India and Brazil.

The interest of the Bank of Worms in the development in France of branches of industry which are working for war, and its old connections with foreign intelligence services, push the bank into active participation in the political life of the country. However, the activity of the bank in this field is carefully veiled. The bank is obviously afraid of failures similar to those which caused it much trouble during the period of the exposure in France of the fascist leagues and the Cagoulards. But it is difficult to conceal the activization of the bank's activity. Recently the French newspapers have been openly writing about this activization of activity. "Friends" of the bank explain this fact by "the special dynamism" of the bank.

This "dynamism" referred to, is especially clearly manifested under the Mendes-France government, with which the Bank of Worms was closely connected.

The post of state secretary for scientific-research work and technical progress in this government was held by Andre Lonchambon, who was simultaneously chairman of two companies whose activities are controlled and directed by the Worms Group. The members of the boards of directors of a number of firms connected with this group --- Monteil, Geren de Bomon, Kayave, occupied the posts of: State Secretary for Naval Affairs, State Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and State Secretary for Economic Affairs. Other ministers of the cabinet of Mendes-France also maintained indirect connections with the Bank of Worms.

It is not by chance therefore that the government of Mendes-France carried out a series of foreign and domestic policy measures which corresponded to the interests of the group of the Bank of Worms. Namely, this government obtained the ratification by the National Assembly of the aggressive Paris pacts, proclaimed the necessity for the creation of a European armaments pool, achieved the activization of the French monopolies in French colonies. Mendes-France fought in every way for the development of the military atomic industry in France, and served as the initiator of the intensification of capital investments in the metallurgical industry.

It is not by chance, evidently, that the government of E. Faure, which replaced the government of Mendes-France, continued to carry out the policy of Mendes-France, namely, in those questions in which the Bank of Worms and its partners were interested. Indeed the Bank of Worms was also connected by a number of direct and indirect ties with the government of Faure.

In order to influence the public opinion of the country, the Bank of Worms resorted to the services of the corrupt, bourgeois press in France. In French journalistic circles, it is widely known for example, that the newspaper Information always obediently follows the "advice" of the Bank of Worms, and Paris Press en Transition is one of the most persistent protectors of the interests of the bank. Many newspapers and magazines, connected with the largest newspaper-book trust Achet, in particular the newspaper France-Soir, in every way boosts the Worms group and glorifies its activity.

It is not just the Bank of Worms alone which works in France for war, orienting itself in its activity upon the aggressive policy of the Anglo-American circles. But it plays one of the first violins in the political orchestra of the French financial oligarchy, which is supporting this policy. Therefore the exposure of its dangerous, indeed, subversive activities serves the cause of peace.

The Dollar's Travelling Salesman

A. Khazanov

When the organizers of the North Atlantic Union decided to place a war-industrial base under it, and under the army of mercenaries of the dollar, planned on the basis of this union, Jean Monnet was entrusted with the task of "selling" this idea to public opinion in France, and with its realization.

The choice was far from being just chance. A Frenchman by birth, Jean Monnet is a typical businessman-cosmopolite. He is well known on all the exchanges of the capitalist world -- not without reason did the reactionary American magazine Life call him "a citizen of France, London, New York, and Washington."

The cognac manufacturer, having traveled over half the world at one time in search of markets for the sale of products from his firm, had, at the same time, much experience in diplomatic activity: he was deputy to the General Secretary of the League of Nations, in 1939 headed the French Purchasing Mission in Washington, and later served as chairman of the so-called Anglo-French Coordinating Committee in 1939-1940, during the black months for France. Finally, the reputation of international banker was firmly attached to him, since he had learned in the minutest details all the stratagems of international transactions and calculations. Monnet had close connections with the banking house of Kuhn, Loeb, and Co. on Wall Street, with John McCloy of the Rockefeller bank Chase Manhattan, with the largest banking house of the USA, the Bank of America, which belongs to the Giannini family.

Possessing the ingratiating courtesy of the merchant, gallant with the ladies, Monnet, by evidence of the American press, at the same time is famous for the qualities of "an abstractly thinking machine." He "is devoted to excess to business."

The American press indicates also, that Monnet knows how to stay in the background -- he "operates behind the scenes and becomes a mysterious man." He is not ambitious -- the inclination for ministerial portfolios takes a back seat as compared to his striving for rounding off his bank account. Just such a man was suitable in order to convince the French people -- and not only the French people -- the rulers, that the military North Atlantic bloc needed support in the form of a wide military-industrial base, which would include all the countries of Western Europe. This idea subsequently obtained the name of "the Schuman plan," after the French Minister of Foreign Affairs who officially introduced it.

Biographers of Monnet assert that his main rule in life always was: "Choose the necessary person at the necessary time." And he strictly followed this principle, in order "to make his way in the world." In his youth, and all the more, in his mature years, Monnet did not burden himself with education. He limited himself to college, which he finished in his native city Cognac. His father, the head of a cognac firm, was far from progressive in ideas and attitudes. The favorite saying expressed his simple philosophy: "Any new idea is a bad idea." The end of the dreams of papa Monnet was to see cognac produced by his firm in the taverns of the whole world. Realizing this dream, papa Monnet began early to put his son into the business. Before the war of 1914 young Jean traveled a great deal abroad with samples of his papa's cognac -- to compete with the famous cognac firm of Martel was difficult. As the center of his trade operations the young commercial traveler chose Canada, where he succeeded in establishing quite good business relations with the Hudson Bay Company, closely connected with the bank of the Lazar brothers.

[Cartoon, opp. p 430.] Connections established by the young Monnet with international finance circles proved useful to him later, when they gave him the opportunity to get the position of Minister of Trade. The young Monnet deftly used this advantageous post. Carrying on negotiations with Hudson Bay Company concerning a loan to France, he at the same time concluded a private transaction with the Company for the sale of cognac. In gratitude, and on behalf of the Ministry of Trade he assigned to the Hudson Bay Company the exclusive right for purchase of French goods for export.

These were just the first steps of Monnet, which indicated, however, how easily this man foregoes the interests of his country for the sake of personal profits.

When the war of 1914 broke out, Monnet, using his connections with commercial circles, avoided service in the army. The French Minister of Trade -- a representative of the Rothschilds -- arranged a trip for Monnet to London, where he participated in the organization of various Franco-British economic committees. In the committees there arose serious conflicts concerning trade questions. The English especially were urgently achieving freedom of trade in France. And at this point, Monnet, oriented on "the necessary person," began to support the blockade Minister, Lord Robert Cecil in his disputes with the French. This unexpected support did not remain unnoticed by Cecil. He subsequently played a large role in Monnet's career.

In London, Monnet entered into close relations also with other people who were necessary to him -- with Arthur Salter (subsequently Lord Pert), Henri Bonnet, who later became Ambassador of France to the USA, with Bullitt and other American representatives, who rushed to Europe after the entrance of the USA into the war. Monnet sacrificed French interests with such ease, that the Ministers of Clemenceau's cabinet insisted upon his recall from London. Soon, however, he again returned to London: connections with foreign capital were already at that time working miracles in the bourgeois political circles of France.

The war was over. The cognac manufacturer temporarily had nothing to do. But he did not have to look for work long. Creating the machinery for the League of Nations, Lord Cecil remembered the services, rendered him by Monnet at one time. He petitioned Lloyd-George and Clemenceau to appoint Monnet as deputy to the Secretary General of the League of Nations. There followed no objections. It was advantageous to the English that their man be in the League of Nations, a man who had already proved his devotion to them. As far as Clemenceau was concerned, he answered Cecil: "I do not believe in the League of Nations and am very happy to satisfy your request."

In the League of Nations, Monnet engaged in the organization of all kinds of committees and subcommittees. But this was the official side of his activities. There was also an unofficial side: the tireless strengthening of his business connections with Englishmen and at the same time with Americans. Monnet established close contact with one of the partners of John Pierpont Morgan -- Dwight Morrow, who at one time organized the financing of Allied loans in the USA. Monnet also made friends with Acheson, the Future Secretary of State of USA. At the same time Monnet gathered about him his old London friends. Near him appeared Rene Pleven -- the future agent for "the European Army" affairs. On the whole, the activity of Monnet in the League of Nations was concentrated in all kinds of financial operations. He worked hard on the organization of loans for the Austrian Treasury and for the landowners of Poland, more exactly followers of Pilsudski, having earned for himself quite tidy commissions. It was this financing operation which gained him wide renown on Wall Street.

In comparison with this income, service in the machinery of the League of Nations proved not to be a very profitable occupation. Monnet left Geneva and went to his native Cognac -- the affairs of the Monnet Cognac Firm were very much shaken; the diplomat-businessman quickly set about putting things right. And in this walk of life he achieved great successes: before the second world war the firm brought him not less than a million dollar income.

Having put his cognac business back on its feet, and having provided himself thereby with the necessary reserve in case of any emergencies, Monnet again set out upon international financial ventures. Now he entered the service of American bankers. The wide scope and grasp of American businessmen were close to his heart. In the service of the interests of American banks and monopolies, Monnet found his true calling. Bringing him solid income, this service permitted him to consolidate and expand the business of his own firm.

American businessmen needed an efficient Frenchman -- they were playing havoc with their banking operations in Europe. Monnet was appointed director of the Paris branch of the American investment bank of Blair and Co. At the head of the bank was an American Elisha Walker. From that time Monnet began to feel at home on Wall Street. He had found himself in American business circles. And when the cognac manufacturer spoke about the business life of New York, in his voice were heard rapturous notes.

The bank flourished. Its financial operations expanded. The director of its Paris branch also prospered. He became a shareholder of the bank. In the beginning of the 1930's this bank organized loans on the financial market for the rulers of Poland and Rumania at that time. The affairs of the bank had improved so much, that the largest California financier Giannini took notice of it. He appropriated the bank of Blair and Co. and created the new financial concern of Bank of America-Blair and Co.

Who knows how the affairs of the new bank and Monnet would have proceeded, if all this had not ended in failure in 1931. The bank went bankrupt. But this catastrophe did not finish Monnet, or his patron Elisha Walker. They both succeeded in getting away, and Monnet was even able to preserve all his cash capital -- 3 million dollars.

The resourcefulness of Monnet was appraised at its true worth. In a year, the American banks sent him to protect their interests in the liquidation of the Kreiger international match trust, which had failed. Elisha Walker became one of the directors of the American bank of Kuhn, Loeb and Co., the very same bank which had protected German interests in the USA during the entire war from 1914-1918.

During the liquidation of the match trust, Monnet, in the capacity of liquidator of the Kreiger trust, as appointed by the Swedish government, successfully protected the interests of the American stockholders. After this he obtained a new appointment, again from Americans.

In 1933 the son-in-law of Chiang Kai-shek -- the Minister of Finance of China -- petitioned the League of Nations to help to put right the system of Chinese finances. Upon the recommendation of the Americans, in particular the bank of Morgan, Monnet was sent to Nanking. Here he met his old friends of the League of Nations: Henri Bonnet, Arthur Salter, Joseph Avenol. With their participation, there was created in China the China Finance Development Corporation. This company had the task of attracting American capital for the construction of railroads and electric power enterprises, and for the exploitation of the raw material resources of China. In other words, Monnet cleared the way for the penetration of American capital into China, and the enslavement of the Chinese people.

Trying at least partially to protect themselves against American expansion, the Chinese bankers set up the condition: not a single construction work could be carried out without Chinese capital investments. Monnet assumed the task of settling this question. He went to New York. Together with the American George Marnain he organized there a Marnain-Monnet Company for obtaining loans in Shanghai, New York, London, and Paris for the financing of construction work in China. Thus, Chinese capital was dissolved in the total sum of capital investments, and enterprises constructed by these funds actually were not under the control of the Chinese powers. Of course, the largest amounts of capital were invested by Americans, which made them in essence the chief owners of the enterprises constructed.

Monnet did not select his companion Marnain by chance. Through him he found the opportunity to expand his business connections. At one time Marnain was the director of the large bank of Lee Higginson. For a long time the bank held an important position on Wall Street; it participated in the financing of Germany after the first world war. It was one of those American banks which aided the revival of the military power of Germany which had been destroyed in the first world war. It is true that after 1931, in connection with the severe economic crisis, Marnain had to reduce the scales of his operations for the financing of Germany, but he never ceased to show interest in its financial system.

When the second world war broke out, Daladier and Chamberlin appointed Monnet to the post of chairman of the Franco-British committee, located in London. Here Monnet again participated in dangerous intrigues against the interests of France. By evidence of the

American press, he was striving to realize "economic integration," that is, the merging of the economic resources of France with those of England. Under conditions when the war was being carried on at the gates of France, and later even on her own territory, such a merger was fraught with great danger for France. As one of the American magazines indicated, these projects led to a "still bolder idea -- the idea of political union."

Monnet carried on negotiations in London for the unification of France and England into a joint French-British alliance. This project originated in London at the time when France was in a difficult position in the second world war, and the City magnates intended to use this position of France in order to appropriate its overseas possessions and its navy. Jean Monnet actively helped the English realize this plan, whose failure it is quite impossible to attribute to a lack of effort on his part.

After the capitulation of France, Monnet went to the USA with the British Purchasing Mission. In Washington he settled down, just as much at home as in France. In a comfortable private house on Foxhall Road, in one of the aristocratic outskirts of the American capitol, appeared representatives of the higher circles -- if a person has many dollars, it is possible to forgive him his foreign extraction.

Working for the English, Monnet also remained a servant of the Americans. When the Allies landed in North Africa, Monnet was sent by the American circles to investigate the situation in Morocco, Algiers and Tunis. Then he returned to Washington for the management of the French Purchasing Mission. There he remained until the very end of the war. He returned to France only after an end had been put to Hitler.

France had greatly suffered from the war. Her economy was seriously undermined and was in need of rehabilitation and reconstruction. And suddenly this Jean Monnet -- who was the man who had sometimes served the English, sometimes the American banks and trusts, the man whose entire activity had been directed against the interests of his own country, and had threatened it with great damage -- this very same Monnet appeared as the author of "the plan of reconstruction" of the French state.

Soon afterwards it turned out that this plan was directed, first of all, towards restoration of the positions of those French banks and trusts which had wide international connections and interests beyond the boundaries of the country. The main burdens connected with the restoration, were placed on the shoulders of the workers. And the banks and trusts continued to enter large profits in the balances on their books. As concerns the fortunes of the French economy, "the two hundred families" who controlled France treated them very indifferently. They were concerned only with whether they would get their own profits.

Disregard of the national interests of the country is illustrated by the notorious "Marshall Plan." It brought great profits not only to the American bankers, but also to their French brothers in business. It is completely clear that Monnet — agent of international finance circles — promoted in every way the implementation of the Marshall Plan in France. On the basis of this plan, capital was invested only in those enterprises which were in the hands of a tight little group of French monopolists, which often caused damage to the national economy as a whole.

But the most perfidious stab in the back of France which Monnet and his colleagues inflicted, was the plan for a European Union of Coal and Steel. The idea is far from new. It originated in Germany. As far back as 1931, the German industrialist Hugo Stinnes had expressed it; he had dreamed of a "union" of Lorraine ore and Ruhr coke. Hitler had tried to realize this idea by the force of arms. After the complete defeat of the Hitler hordes, the idea of such a "union" migrated to the USA. In 1947 John Foster Dulles declared that the Ruhr basin with its coal, industrial and human resources was the economic center of Western Europe.

The original version of the plan, proposed by Schuman in May 1950, stipulated participation in it not only of Western Germany, France, Italy and Benelux (that is, Belgium, Holland, and Luxemburg), but England also. The plan amounted to the creation of a gigantic international monopolistic concern, consolidating the metallurgical, iron-ore and coal industries of these countries. The businessmen of the London City refused to participate in it, but this did not stop the author of the plan. In April 1951 the treaty for the creation of the so-called European Union of Coal and Steel was signed, and went into effect in August 1952. Jean Monnet became the chairman of the so-called supreme organ of the European Union of Coal and Steel.

The rulers of France, disguising the real purposes of the plan, assured the French that the European Union of Coal and Steel would bring great advantages to French industry and to the economy as a whole. They did not conceal their intention to be the leading, determining force in this union.

Since that time more than four years have passed. What fruits has France reaped? What has her entrance into the European Union of Coal and Steel brought her?

The Schuman Plan did serious damage to the French economy. Many coal-metallurgical regions of the country, primarily Nord and Pas-de-Calais, were hard hit.

In accordance with the Schuman Plan, during the first year of its operation many mines were closed as "unprofitable." The coal trade was doing poorly. The European Union of Coal and Steel established uniform railroad rates. As a result of this "standardization" it turned out to be more advantageous for the Lorraine metallurgical trusts to ship coal from the Ruhr. And they refused to buy domestic coal.

The picture in the French steel industry was no less joyless. Steel production, as is well-known, is indissolubly connected with coal. The coal-coking industry of France, in comparison with the Ruhr, was always more backward. It was in need of serious support.

Within the limits of the European Union of Coal and Steel, France not only did not receive this support, but, on the contrary, immediately proved defenseless as compared to the more powerful Ruhr magnates. The Ruhr coal trusts had at their disposal the largest deposits of high grade coking coals in Western Europe. There were not any high grade coking coals in France. France, experiencing an acute shortage of coking coals, became completely dependent upon the Ruhr coal trusts. It is not by chance that the French steel industry all these years has been at a standstill, whereas their Western German competitors have been increasing the tempos of production.

In 1957 the smelting of steel in West Germany exceeded the production of steel in France by two times.

Such a situation did not arise accidentally. The European Union of Coal and Steel opened wide opportunities to the monopolies of West German industry. Indeed, with the coming into effect of the Schuman Plan, all limitations in regard to the smelting of steel and production capacities lost their meaning. Entrepreneurs did not waste any time; they energetically went to work, about which the newspaper Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung wrote not without exultation. It was the organ of the West German capitalist circles. "From the moment of the formation of the Union of Coal and Steel," the newspaper declared, "West Germany was liberated from the fetters which had artificially kept the reconstruction of our metallurgical industry on a low level. Our metallurgical industry used the initiative which it thus obtained. In 1954 it produced the same quantity of steel as it had produced in 1938. This year (i.e., 1955 A. Khazanov) the prewar level will be exceeded for the first time." The newspaper, as is known, did not err in these predictions.

The assertions, that the European Union of Coal and Steel would be able to control and limit the development of the West German war industry, turned out to be idle talk. On the contrary, by means of the European Union of Coal and Steel West Germany began to intensify its war industrial potential without difficulty.

This completely suited both the West German militarists as well as certain circles across the ocean, who considered West Germany the military-industrial base of NATO. But such a situation presented a serious threat for France. And this real threat was created by such people as Jean Monnet. It is true that at a certain stage, he abandoned these affairs, having given up his power as head of the European Union of Coal and Steel. But we have already seen that this is the usual Monnet method. Having fulfilled the immediate mission of his bosses, having set things going, he then withdrew into the background, not ceasing to observe behind the scenes and to pull one string or another opportunely. Monnet was not disturbed by the serious difficulties which the French economy was experiencing. He could not care less -- he had plenty of deposits in American banks, even if all of France were to blow up. He was engaged in the realization of the scheme -- to transform the European Union of Coal and Steel into the nucleus of "a United Europe." "The European Union of Coal and Steel," Jean Monnet declared at one time in a public speech, "is an attempt to attain political results through economic means."

What political results did this commercial traveler of "big business" achieve? The magazine Perspective told about this with sufficient clarity. "Some deliberately, others not being conscious of this," it wrote, "transformed the European Union of Coal and Steel into a tool, as a result of which six countries of Western Europe soon formed a sacred empire under the American protectorate. The European Union of Coal and Steel was transformed into a sword directed against the USSR, covering itself by the existing necessity of organizing the struggle against communism, of organizing a crusade to the East." This was the attractiveness of this plan for Monnet, and those whom he served.

As concerns "the crusade to the East," Mr. Monnet, still, as the saying goes, proceeded on the basis of "we shall see what we shall see." At that time it was not easy to arrange such crusades. The experience of events of the recent past very clearly indicated that attempts of imperialists to organize anti-national conspiracies and military adventures end up in disgraceful failure.

There is hardly anyone who is not clear on who was guilty of aggression against Egypt, and of the rise of the counter-revolutionary revolt in Hungary.

This was a unified plan, conceived on a wide scale. Its authors meant, in two blows, to change to their own benefit the situation on the world scene. However, they did not calculate correctly, having overestimated their forces and having underestimated the forces of the camp of socialism and also the forces of the national-liberation movement in the countries of the East. They obviously miscalculated and received a two-fold crushing blow. The lessons of the adventure in the

Arab East indicate that the colonizers suffered a military, economic, and moral-political defeat. In Hungary the people, under the leadership of the Hungarian Socialist Labor Party and the Revolutionary Worker-Peasants Government, with the aid of the Soviet Union quickly defeated the counter-revolutionary conspirators. The defeat of the counter-revolutionary revolt in Hungary, which was inspired from without; and also the defeat of the aggressor in Egypt meant the great failure of the imperialistic course of the policy "from the position of strength." This is the fate of some of "the campaigns" about which Mr. Monnet and company had dreamed. These dreams were fantastic. And here is the stark reality: French industry on the decline, Italian metallurgy almost completely ruined; instead of "the general market," there resulted the closed market of West German monopolies and their senior American partners; monopolies of West Germany got into the overseas possessions of France, and especially into North Africa. Under heart-rending wails about the contrived "communist threat," France was not only fleeced, but her national interests were subordinated to the interests of West German revanchism. And Jean Monnet was one of the chief organizers of such a deplorable process for France.

Having placed upon France the yoke of the European Union of Coal and Steel, Monnet and people of his type set about petitioning for the organization of the so-called "united market" and "Euratom." All of those same six countries — the participants of the Schuman Plan, including France also, had to go into either of these organizations. In essence, the term "united market" implies the elimination of economic boundaries between these six states. The participants of the union are called upon to give up some fundamental functions of state sovereignty, having yielded them to "the super-national organs of the union." Behind these organs, of course, stand the West German monopolies. The "general market" opens for West Germany, which possesses a powerful economic potential, the opportunity to establish its hegemony in Western Europe.

The matter of "Euratom" is still more serious. Of course, it is disguised by every possible decent mask. This, it is said, is collaboration of the six countries in the interests of the peaceful use of atomic energy. Actually it is a completely different issue. The treaty concerning the creation of "Euratom" stipulates the unification of atomic research, the production of atomic raw material, the use of atomic energy, and the joint financing of enterprises and plants in this field.

It must be taken into consideration that West Germany joined the Union, but has no atomic raw material of its own; and on the other hand, France and Belgium joined the Union, and they do possess their own atomic raw material. For whom, then, is this collaboration advantageous? The West German revanchists will have access to atomic raw material and actually will be freed from any limitations in the field of production of atomic weapons.

Jean Monnet participated actively in the creation of "Euratom"; he had become a practiced hand at such matters a long time ago, and had proved himself a skillful organizer. The French, who take a sober view of the situation, with a shudder watch the way in which this international commercial traveler exerts himself in order to put into the hands of the inveterate enemy of the French nation -- West German imperialism -- the weapon of mass destruction. Monnet betrayed the interest of his country many times; his present activities cannot surprise anyone. He proceeds by a method, which is completely logical for such an operator. But this infamous method has led to the downfall of more than one French politician. The people of France and Monnet are not going the same way.

BELGIUM

"There is nothing more frightening than
a businessman, who has set out for profit."
-- Golbach

The "Common Denominator" of Mr. Spaak

M. Sturua

Some American journalists once asked Paul Henri Spaak what the secret of his political career was. The secret consists of "patience and an ardent desire to find the common denominator," Paul Henri answered without a trace of irony.

Spaak possesses to perfection this wisdom, which Saltykov-Shchedrin maliciously and accurately nicknamed by the famous words -- to act "in conformity with baseness." With the ease and effortlessness of the professional illusioner he reduces to "a common denominator" the ultra-patriotic tirades, and trades in the sovereignty of Belgium, "the socialist convictions" and the appetites of the colonizer, the verbiage about peace, and the possession of shares of military concerns.

At the dawn of his hazy political youth, Mr. Spaak was considered an inveterate rebel -- "a left" socialist. He even practiced law, defending in the courts people prosecuted for political offences against capitalism.

The peak of "the revolutionary" activity of the young socialist was his participation in a street demonstration at the building of the conservative newspaper Nation Belge. Passing the editorial offices of this newspaper, he broke the glass of one of the windows with a cane.

"The revolutionary act" of Spaak did not cause a Belgian reaction, or the slightest damage. It easily recovered from this blow -- the editorial office of Nation Belge placed an iron grating on the windows. Even up to the present time, it is pointed out to tourists. It is called "the Spaak grating."

But the period of "storm and stress" was short. "The experience converted Spaak into a socialist, who adhered to the constitution," wrote the English journalist Mac Hicky. Only the black wide-brimmed hat, looked upon as a sign of radicalism in Western Europe, of its right-wing socialist owner reminded one of the former convictions of this socialist.

In 1937 Spaak became Minister of Foreign Affairs of Belgium. He obtained the ministerial portfolio during the years when, over Europe, the war fires had started. The Rhine area was remilitarized, the Saar was annexed to Germany, Austria stood on the threshold of the ausschloss. In Spain, Hitler and Mussolini, helping Franco conduct war against the Spanish people, were rehearsing the conquest of Europe. The Ministries of Foreign Affairs in London and Paris, counting on the fact that Hitler would turn to the east, not only did not hamper the raving lance-corporal, but, on the contrary, roused his appetites. Austria and Czechoslovakia were absorbed by the German Third Empire. The Munich capitulation became a prelude to the capitulation of Compeigne forest. The second world war broke out. At first "a strange war," then a frightful war.

What was Paul Henri Spaak doing during these years? According to Spaak himself, he was trying to convert Belgium into a second Switzerland and for this purpose had achieved recognition of Belgium's constant neutrality from Germany. But this was obviously ostrich feather politics.

Who does not remember that the Kaiser's Germany had come forward as one of the guarantors of Belgium's neutrality? This by no means prevented Wilhelm II from giving the order to invade Belgium, and to occupy it. Justifying the violation of neutrality, the German government of that time declared to the Belgian government that France was a dangerous threat to Belgium. In view of the inability of Belgium to protect herself independently from this threat, it was said in the statement, German armed forces would enter Belgian territory. In this pertinent document, composed, incidentally, according to that inveterate militarist General von Moltke, only as a mockery, Belgium was guaranteed "integrity and independence."

[Cartoon opp. p 446] Everyone remembers how these "guarantees" for Belgium turned out. Also the director of her foreign policy, Spaak, had to remember this. Nevertheless he humbly begged for new "guarantees" from Hitler's Minister of Foreign Affairs Ribbentrop. The entreaties were heard in Berlin. Hitler gave Belgium "solemn guarantees" of the inviolability and respect of its neutrality. But the German General Staff received the mission to work out a plan of attack upon this country.

The preparation of paper guarantees proceeded at full speed. Soon Spaak inserted into his diplomatic assets new guarantees, the guarantees of the England and France who had been at Munich.

Seeking after illusory guarantees, Spaak exerted every effort for the frustration of the real guarantees of security, included in the efficient system of collective security, whose creation the Soviet Union had achieved at that time. Speaking on 11 May 1954 at the Geneva Conference, the Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs pathetically exclaimed: "Namely here, in Geneva...I was witness to the destruction of collective security. I shall never forget this -- the destruction of collective security was the prelude to the second world war." He preferred to pass over in silence the fact that his own role in this shameful matter went far beyond the limits of a detached onlooker. It suffices to point out, that Spaak was the first to recognize the fascist government of Franco, and actively participated in the conversion of the League of Nations into a farce!

The reckoning soon came. It was in the person of Beulow-Shvante, the German Ambassador in Brussels. Beulow-Shvante came to the Belgian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and read a note on the invasion of Belgium by Germany. This occurred several hours after units of the Hitler Wehrmacht crossed the Belgian border, having trampled on "the guarantees," which had been begged by Spaak at one time.

Having heard out Beulow-Shvante, Spaak burst into a verbose monologue. He branded Germany as ungrateful and even showed the Ambassador the door. But not without reason do they say about Spaak, that, "when a crisis comes, the thinker in him yields to the man of action." Having showed Hitler's Ambassador the door, he became frightened. And having become frightened, he began to act. According to the evidence of the former commander of the Hitler army in Belgium, General Falkenhausen, Spaak offered his services to the Hitler command. However his "offers of collaboration" were declined. Falkenhausen preferred a pure Belgian Quisling -- the leader of the "Reichists," De Grelle.

Spaak left Belgium, since he had nothing to do. Turned away by Hitler and shown much kindness in London, he nevertheless preferred, for the time being, to mark time, to back two horses -- the outcome of the war was still not determined. Speaking on 6 December 1940 on the London radio, he appealed to the Belgians to keep their loyalty to King Leopold III, who had betrayed his country, and had turned into an inveterate collaborationist. "Everyone, who had taken an oath of loyalty to the king," overstraining his voice, Spaak laid down the law, "must keep this oath."

But Hitler's Germany was defeated. Spaak returned to Brussels. Now there appeared a new rival for him, still more dangerous than the unlucky De Grelle. This was Mr. Van Zeeland. In Belgium Spaak and Van Zeeland were called "the brothers-enemies." The French magazine Democracy-Nouvelle wrote about them: "In Belgium two men especially are obtaining the post of 'honest broker' of the Americans: Spaak and Van Zeeland."

The struggle of Spaak with Van Zeeland was not easy. Not for nothing do they consider, in the USA, that Van Zeeland is "the most American of Belgian statesmen." However the rivalry of these "brother-enemies" ended up with the victory of Spaak. Since then he definitively and irrevocably bound his fate with American imperialism, having become its faithful and obedient servant.

Spaak was born in Belgium. But "Belgium is too small for such a big operator, as Spaak," the London radio once noted. In this assertion, there is a speck of truth — in Belgium there is no person who would be able to permit himself the luxury of buying Spaak.

This luxury was accessible for the gentlemen of Washington.

Spaak became an active executor of the schemes of the American imperialists, who were striving to deprive the European countries of their national sovereignty and to convert all of Europe into the forty-ninth state of America.

Devoid of "national prejudices," Spaak first of all worked on Belgium. How much ~~effort~~ was expended by him in order to draw this country into Western European "defense" groups! "The socialist, who adheres to the constitution," took an active part in castrating the Belgian constitution. Articles 25 and 68 were radically revised. These articles deal with the national sovereignty of Belgium, the fundamental rights of the nation, its sovereign power. The Minister of Internal Affairs of Belgium, at that time Moyerson, frankly recognized, that this revision had been undertaken for the purpose of the establishment of "super national power" within the limits of the "European defense" organization. Spaak was one of the first to vote for the actual elimination of the constitution and the sovereignty of Belgium.

The voting in parliament did not reflect, of course, the real opinion of the Belgian people. In a special study of public opinion on "the West German defense organization," 70 percent of those asked declared that they were against such an organization. That was the real will of the Belgian people. Displaying the sovereignty of Belgium for sale, Spaak was dealing in something which did not belong to him.

Having forgotten about the Hohenzollern "guarantees" and about his personal experience with the Hitler "guarantees," Spaak again tried to drag Belgium onto a path fraught with catastrophe, full of guarantees-traps. This time it concerns the "guarantees" of Adenauer. With undisguised admiration he cites the words of the Bonn Chancellor that "the European defense association must be the starting point for the system of defense, which takes into consideration the need of all European nations for security." The Belgian Minister, moreover, was deliberately shutting his eyes to the aggressive preparations of the West German

militarists. He did not want to remember, that during the years of the second world war the German General Staff had sent barges to the Belgian ports whose dark holds were crowded with soldiers of the Wermacht. At the appointed hour they stabbed the Belgian defense forces in the back.

Having ratified the treaty concerning the "European Army," and after its failure, the Paris agreements, the rulers of Belgium thus actually sanctioned the future occupation of its territory by the West German Wermacht that has now been created. Speaking at one time in parliament on the question of ratification of the treaty concerning "the European Army," the Minister of National Defense de Greve had to admit, that "the Belgians would have to agree, possibly, to the merger of their divisions with German divisions." De Greve confirmed that this could lead to the placing of German troops in Belgium.

The Bonn neo-Wermacht would not even need barges — the Belgian Spaaks were ready themselves to throw open the doors to the German divisions.

* * *

In October 1953, in the Hague, there was held a meeting of the regular congress of the so-called movement for the unification of Europe. At this congress occurred the solemn handing over of "European passport no. 1" to Paul Henri Spaak, chairman of the assembly of "the European Union of Coal and Steel."

Spaak completely deserved this "license no. 1 for trading in sovereignty." "The organized international life, which we are achieving," — he "theorizes," "cannot be attained, if we do not destroy the dogma of absolute state sovereignty. A real international organization and absolute national sovereignty are contradictory and irreconcilable concepts." Sovereignty, Spaak said authoritatively, is anarchy; the rejection of sovereignty is order.

Spaak began to achieve "the organized international life" the day after the defeat of Hitler's Germany. He became one of the creators of the movement for "the Union of Europe." It was he who proposed the creation of "a European Council" for the drawing up of a constitution of the future "European Federation." The name of Spaak invariably figures among the inventors of all these artificial constructions: "United Europe," "the European Council," "the European Political Association," "Little Europe," "the European Union of Coal and Steel," "the Social Movement for the Creation of the United States of Europe," "the European Union for Rapprochement with the USA," "the European Defense Association." In spite of the variety of labels, they all pursue the very same goal — to deprive the countries of Western Europe of national sovereignty and independence.

Spaak infinitely hates the state boundaries of the Western European countries — indeed they impede free American penetration. "Down with fifteen state boundaries!", he proclaimed. For him only one boundary was important. "The boundary of the USA," declared Spaak, "passes through Europe." "We should have gotten rid of the prejudices and old-fashioned traditions a long time ago...The attempt to coordinate the individual activity of 15 different countries — is a completely inadequate method...."

What kind of a method did Spaak consider "adequate"? This is the kind of method: "We shall not solve the vitally important problem of security until we develop a plan and until we create...a united army of the countries of the Atlantic treaty. We need, as soon as possible, a man who has much experience, influence and prestige, to be at the head of this work....He would not only be the Commander-in-Chief, but, if it can be expressed thus, also the general war minister for these countries."

General Eisenhower was such a "war minister," then General Ridgeway became "war minister." Then General Gruenther had the role of military governor-general of Western Europe. Now General Norstad in this same role is functioning as the regular American Commander of the Armed Forces of NATO. Spaak was obsequiously frank in the pages of the reputable American magazine Foreign Affairs: "I always have wanted the United States to use its power and its interest in the welfare of Europe, in order to give our continent a shove towards unification." But what a union! "I should welcome the manifestation of even more boldness," he recklessly exclaimed in that same magazine.

And, there is no denying the consistency of the Belgian minister-socialist — if instead of 15 European boundaries there must exist one — the American, if instead of 15 European currencies there must remain one — also the American, then is it not logical to offer all of these 15 European countries also one master — America?!

These glorifications in honor of the American Uncle Sam make up one of the basic melodies of the propagandistic street-organ of the Belgian socialist.

Having gone to the shores of the Hudson, where, according to his own declaration, he liked everything except "the very monotonous food," Spaak became very enthusiastic over "the changes in the class structure" of the USA. It turns out that in the USA "millionaires are gradually disappearing, and capitalism is achieving, in reality, socialist ends."

But in spite of this demagogy, the workers of Europe more and more distinctly understand, that in the USA the millionaires are not disappearing, but rather the democratic freedoms are disappearing, that the bosses of Wall Street are striving towards the achievement not of socialist goals, but of world supremacy.

Spaak was having difficulties! "In Western Europe there is noticeable an anti-American trend, which in my opinion, has become intensified recently," he complained in an interview in the newspaper Dagbladet. Speaking at one of the "Europe-USA" congresses, Spaak expressed himself far more frankly: "Several million Europeans," he said, "subjected to doubt and mockery the values in which we believe more than in anything else....For the majority of Europe, America means Chicago gangsters and New York multi-millionaires. Our task is to show the likeable face of America." But even that propagandist cosmetic, with which Spaak tried to make up the face of monopolistic America, did not make it more attractive.

* * *

With unusual ease Spaak sacrificed what he himself called "the vital interests of the Europeans." In the American magazine Foreign Affairs, he wrote: "Europe must be reconstructed; but the reconstruction of Europe means at first the infringement of some lawful interests. Here and there it may create, for some time, unemployment. It may mean the destruction of individual personalities and some groups." Speaking in 1952 at the Hague, Spaak called for "the sacrifice of European pride, sovereignty, and material sacrifices."

Let no one be surprised at this sham altruism: the reconstruction of Europe for which Spaak was calling, would not infringe upon his own interests. Whomever unemployment and ruin might threaten, they would not threaten Spaak. Waiving the sovereignty of his homeland, he did not make any personal sacrifices. On the contrary, he made a fortune.

Here are the facts. Before the beginning of the debates in the special commission created in Belgium to study the question of the ratification of the treaty for "the European Defense Association," Cowen, the Ambassador of the USA in Brussels, gave Spaak to understand that the Belgian export firms with which Spaak was closely connected, would receive profitable American orders if the Belgian parliament would ratify the treaty in 1953. The deal went through. Spaak's firms received profitable orders.

When the American intervention in Korea began, Spaak was beside himself with joy. "I approve of the action of the United States in Korea," said he, transported with enthusiasm. Five years later, speaking at the Geneva Conference on the Korean Question, Spaak declared with affected disinterestedness: "In such a war as the war in Korea, there is nothing for us to defend except principles." Is that really the case, Mr. Spaak? A careful study of some aspects of his biography indicates that "the principles" of this man lie in his safe in the form of a considerable packet of shares of the National Armaments Plant.

The arms dealers and their salesmen of the government attained their end -- the conference was frustrated. The stockholders of the National Armaments Plant continued to make a fortune in the production of weapons of death and destruction.

The events of those years throw a bright light upon the sources of friendship of the Armaments Plant and its stockholder Spaak with American military firms and the US State Department.

This friendship, mixed in the yeast of the international tension, became especially close during the years of the Korean adventure of American imperialism. It is continuing to become stronger even now. It is growing together with the increase of the price of shares of the National Armaments Plant. In 1948 a share of this concern cost 600 francs; after six years it was worth 3,000 francs. In 1948-1949 the dividend of the National Armaments Plant amounted to 65 francs per each share. After five years it reached 192.5 francs.

This is where it is necessary to search for those "principles," in whose defense Mr. Spaak drove his countrymen to Korea. The specialists recognized the Belgian rifle, produced by the National Armaments Plant as the best, and it was accepted as the equipment of the forces of the North Atlantic bloc. This decision caused a sharp influx of orders to the plant. The people, to whom this decision was whispered in time, became fabulously rich in a short period. Among those who became rich was Paul Henri Spaak -- one of the principal stockholders of the National Armaments Plant in Herstal.

How did the "socialist" Spaak become converted into a large stockholder of a war enterprise? The Berlin evening paper BTS Am Abend wrote that a large cash bonus received by Spaak for his active support of "the Schuman Plan" helped him to make his way among the arms manufacturers. Thus Spaak acquired on the Brussels Exchange shares of the National Armaments Plant.

The owners of the plant were glad to get for themselves such a "socialist" as a partner. The close connections of Spaak with the overseas organizations of the arms race promised them large war orders, critical war materials, credits.

Not just the one company made use of Spaak's services. Spaak also obtained large American orders for the Dille Automobile Company, of which he was also a stockholder.

Spaak made use of the American sops not only for personal enrichment. The center of "the European movement," which was in Brussels and directed by the Belgian Socialist Party, was financed from American loans obtained by "the European Union of Coal and Steel."

"The American war orders are a bridge, thrown between our two continents," the former Prime Minister of Belgium Van Gutt once declared in Ghent at the international exhibition on the occasion of "American Day." In Belgium this bridge — the heavy burden of the armaments race — lies on the shoulders of Belgian workers. The military expenditures of Belgium amount to the huge figure of 21 billion francs. Speaking on the radio, The Minister of Finance of Belgium declared: "From Brussels to Malin is 21 kilometers. If there were placed along the road from Brussels to the Great Square of Malines at each ten centimeters a packet of 100 1,000 franc notes, then the total sum of 21 billion francs would be obtained." How many of these packets would fall to the lot of Mr. Spaak? When the newspaper Drapeau Rouge suggested that he tell about his connections with the National Armaments Plant, Spaak preferred to keep silent.

But this silence was more eloquent than many words. The fact is that, in dealing in European sovereignty and earning for himself popularity with the American Uncle Sam, Spaak was reducing everything to "a common denominator" — to war.

"The approaching peace worries me," Spaak frankly said during the second world war. With time, this anxiety developed into a real mania. "Korea is only an episode, a warning that it is necessary to hurry...", declared Spaak.

And the aggressors began to hurry. The cities and villages of Egypt burst into flame. The tragedy of Port Said shook the world. All humanity held up to shame the interventionists-colonizers who had invaded Egyptian territory. The overwhelming majority of the countries — the members of the UN — censured the actions of the Anglo-Franco-Israeli aggressors.

But Belgium was not among them. Not because the Belgian people approved of this base aggression, but because Spaak represented Belgium.

The lechery of "the demagogue in dinner-jacket" (thus Spaak's political opponents had nicknamed him) reached its peak at the Eleventh Session of the UN General Assembly. Headlong, he rushed to the tribune to save his bosses, who had entangled themselves and exposed themselves before the whole world. Spaak, foaming at the mouth, spoke in support of the colonizers from the high tribune of the Assembly.

In order to divert attention from this disgraceful colonizer adventure of his partners, Spaak, together with his protector — the USA — undertook a roundabout maneuver. Onto the agenda of the UN General Assembly was juggled the provocative "Hungarian question." How Spaak excelled in anti-Soviet slander, how he openly fraternized with the Hungarian fascist-counterrevolutionaries, how he tried to slander and

cast slurs upon the great camp of socialism, and at the very same time whitewash the executioners who had organized the slaughter in the streets of Budapest! Acting "in conformity with low-down action," Spaak indeed surpassed himself.

This did not pass unnoticed.

In December 1956, at the regular meeting of the NATO council in Paris, the Belgian socialist Paul Henri Spaak was chosen Secretary General of the North Atlantic bloc. Even the history of right-wing socialism, a history which is not so poor in facts of desertion, degeneration, and grovelling before capital, does not remember such an individual.

In appointing Spaak as Secretary General of NATO, Washington was counting on galvanizing the idea of "European unity." Not for nothing was the session of the Council of the Atlantic bloc convened at the same time as the Conference of the Western European Union in Paris. For the Washington bosses of NATO the subordination of the armies to the Pentagon, the militarization of the economies of Western Europe were not enough. They wanted to convert these countries into colonies of the USA, deprived of sovereignty, independence, sovereign state independence. For this all, new attempts were undertaken to galvanize the still-born Western European Union. Who other than Spaak, the holder of "European passport no. 1," would be entrusted with this mission?

The appointment to the new post brought out in Spaak a new fit of hatred for sovereignty, of servility before the American monopolies. In his very first public address, the newly brought-to-light Secretary General of NATO declared that he did not see any contradiction in the declaration by Dulles that all the members of the North Atlantic pact must come to an agreement with the USA about their policy and must consult with the USA, but that the United States does not have to do this in its relations with members of NATO. "Ultimately," pathetically exclaimed Spaak, "it would be impossible to expect that such a country as the USA, with its international obligations, would promise to consult with such a small country as Belgium on every problem which it might encounter in some region of the earth." It is difficult to say, what there is more of in this declaration of Spaak — servile obsequiousness before the American Uncle Sam, or lordly contempt for his own country.

Having become secretary General of NATO, Spaak started a new intrigue — this time with the atomic bomb. Not just anywhere, but in Bonn on the eve of the May 1957 session of the Council of the Atlantic Union, he told the journalists, that "the huge destructive power of the nuclear weapon is for us the best guarantee of peace."

...A guarantee again. Here indeed: can the leopard change his spots?

At the same time, Spaak with even greater zeal led the attack against the sovereignty of the Western European countries. He was an indispensable participant of all the conferences for the drawing up of treaties for the creation of "Euratom" and "the total European market."

Spaak could be seen at Lancaster House in London, at the conference of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the six countries — the future participants of these unions. Then the ministers and the premiers attached to them met at the Matignon Hotel in Paris. Finally, the conspirators against the interests of Europe took shelter in the castle of Valle Duchesse in Belgium. There under the chairmanship of Spaak were drawn up coordinated plans, which were signed later in Rome.

"We are happy, as parents at the birth of a child," he hastened to inform the representatives of the press. The participants of the conference at the palace of Valle Duchesse chose Spaak as head of the interim committee for the acceleration of work for the putting into effect of the treaties for the creation of "Euratom" and "the total European market."

Thus "the socialist," the Secretary General of the war bloc of imperialists headed by the USA, Spaak, reduced to an American "common denominator" the Western European countries.

ASIA AND AFRICA

"In the past, the majority of the countries of Asia and Africa were colonies and semi-colonies of imperialism, its home fronts in the preparation and conducting of wars; however, at the present time, they have been converted into a force, opposing colonialism and wars, standing for peaceful coexistence...the imperialists with all their forces are trying to stop this current — the movement for national independence. However, it is impossible to stop it." — Political report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China to the Eighth All-Chinese Party Congress.

The Last Comprador of China

D. Zaslavskiy

The years after the second world war signified the universal-historical process of the spreading of socialism and the formation of new socialist states, the downfall of the century-old colonial system. This was the most profound crisis of capitalism, the last stage of imperialism.

Denying the regularity of the historic process, the capitalists nourish hopes for the restoration of the capitalist and colonial system. For this reason, the ruling circles of the USA and England, and behind them also other imperialists are striving to preserve everything that still remained from the colonial world.

One such fragment of colonialism is the Island of Taiwan. Here, established firmly, is Chiang Kai-shek, the recollection of whom would have been blotted out in China and in the whole world, if he had not been made a pawn in the large and gambling game of war.

Chiang Kai-shek personifies the history of the parasitic existence and inglorious downfall of the peculiar variety of colonial bourgeoisie — the compradors.

This class was the support of the imperialists in the colonies. It suffered a crushing defeat in the national liberation wars of the peoples.

To indicate how the political career of Chiang Kai-shek rose in a bloody fog and how it set, means to reveal those historic premises which determined the greatest historic victory of the Chinese people, of the Communist Party of China, the liberation of the great Chinese state from the yoke of the imperialists of England, Japan, and USA, and of internal reaction. Chiang Kai-shek himself was a complete nonentity. He has remained a nonentity up to the present. But in his behalf acts the Chiang Kai-shek man in the United Nations. His piratic flag flies over the island torn away from China, and which was converted into a pirate's nest. The Chiang Kai-shek army, equipped by the government of the USA, is considered by American strategists as a shock detachment of the imperialists.

All this does not make it possible to forget Chiang Kai-shek, to efface him from the memory of the people, and from the list of the most malicious warmongers. At the same time the story about the downfall of Chiang Kai-shek is a clear picture of the hopelessness of the new colonialism spread by the USA.

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By the time, when in the family of a salt merchant, the childhood of Chiang Kai-shek ended, the people of China had been conducting a strained revolutionary struggle for a half century against foreign imperialism and despotic Chinese feudalism. Pressing wars upon China or threatening China with war, the American, Japanese, French, and German imperialists forced the rulers of China to sign enslaving agreements. They thrust upon China a colonial regime, seized Chinese territories, created special settlements in the country, led their troops

into China; literally, this was not a great sovereign state with a century-old culture, but their colony. They plundered the natural resources of the country.

Whoever the imperialists might have been, who, at a given time held the most important place in the colonial plundering of China, their program in general was one and the same: the enslavement of the people, inhuman exploitation, plunder of the natural resources, and retention of the age-old economic and cultural backwardness.

The imperialists ruled with the aid of the Chinese rich men, who had become obliging agents of foreign companies. Thus arose the comparatively numerous cadres of the compradors, the parasitic bourgeoisie who acted on behalf of the colonizers, who served the imperialists, who betrayed its own people. These compradors, who multiplied especially in the large port cities -- Shanghai, Canton, Tsingtao, formed the most reactionary part of the Chinese bourgeoisie. The people had the same hate for them which they felt for all foreign enslavers.

In oppressing the Chinese people the imperialists could not however, in spite of their will and their intentions, in the course of the inevitable historical development, could not stifle the process of the economic awakening of China.

There arose cadres of the industrial and transport Chinese proletariat; there began to appear small factories of the national bourgeoisie, who was interested in the extensive development and independence of Chinese industry. Still weak and depending upon foreign and comprador capital, this part of the bourgeoisie was already dreaming about domination in the market.

A huge revolutionary force was born in China together with the formation of cadres of the industrial proletariat. It had a historic mission: to head the revolutionary movement in the country, to unite all the opposition forces against colonialism, and to lead them to the storming of imperialism and the feudal-comprador forces.

In the beginning of the 20th century the foreign imperialists intensified their oppression. They tore into parts the living body of China. Japan started the armed seizure of entire regions -- the Kwangtung area and the Liaotung Peninsula. England invaded Tibet, the English and French troops were led into the Yunnan province. Foreign monopolistic capital seized key positions in the Chinese economy. In China there predominated the English Hong Kong-Shanghai Bank, the German-Asia Bank, the French Bank of Indo-China, the American banking consortium, created by the banks of Wall Street: John P. Morgan, Kuhn-Loeb and Co., and others.

The Chinese people never became reconciled to this enslavement. The country rose up for the struggle against the foreign imperialists and local feudalism. This struggle led to the revolutionary outburst in 1911, which put an end to the feudal-monarchical system in China. In Nanking, the Chinese republic was proclaimed. Under the pressure of the foreign imperialists, the Chinese bourgeoisie gave up the power to that very same feudal clique which had predominated during the monarchy. The militarist and feudal lord Yuan Shih-k'ai was proclaimed president. But the real power in the country belonged to several militarist cliques.

The imperialists furthered the parcelling out — it is easier to plunder and to oppress a country when there is not a united will, a united power in it. If someone of the small rulers gathered forces, another ruler was set upon him. In the country, as formerly, the landowners-feudal lords predominated. In the cities the compradors swarmed in a parasitic horde.

But the revolutionary national movement, the struggle of the workers and peasants did not cease. It was becoming clear that the revolution was only beginning, and that the masses of the people would not become reconciled to the power of the militarists.

The great October Socialist Revolution opened a new epoch of the victorious struggle of the colonial peoples and the dependent countries against foreign and domestic oppressors. It indicated the correct way to the Chinese people. "The gun volleys of the October Revolution brought Marxism-Leninism to us," wrote Mao Tse-tung. The October Revolution helped the progressive elements of peace, and helped China to apply the proletarian world outlook for the determination of the fate of the country and a reconsideration of its own problems. The conclusion was to proceed along the way of the Russians.

The action of the revolutionary student body on 4 May 1919 in Peking was the beginning of a wave of strikes. There developed an anti-feudal, anti-imperialistic movement for the national independence of the country. The bourgeois-democratic Chinese revolution was placed upon a new road — it was converted into a democratic revolution, directed by the proletariat.

Rising for the struggle for social and national liberation, the Chinese working class created its own Communist Party, which led the whole Chinese people to the universal-historic victory in the revolutionary movement. In July 1921, in Shanghai, there was held the First Congress of the Communist Party. The matter of the struggle of the Chinese people for emancipation was in reliable hands. "The Chinese Communist Party," wrote the well-known Chinese scholar Ch'en Bo-dai, "became the all-national leader of the anti-imperialistic and anti-feudal democratic revolution. It called for the establishment of a united revolutionary front of different classes against imperialism and feudalism."

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This appeal found a response. Profound social-class changes in the country, the experience of the revolutionary struggle of the people caused, by that time, great changes within the Kuomintang, created in 1912 by Sun Yat-sen. The right-wing, most reactionary group deserted Sun Yat-sen. The left-wing group united under the leadership of Sun Yat-sen.

Life, the experience of the revolutionary struggle, taught this great democrat that without collaboration with the best forces of the country — with the Communist Party, without alliance with the USSR, without the support for the genuinely revolutionary forces of the people, the workers, and peasants — it is impossible to achieve victory in the bourgeois-democratic revolution. Loyalty to the interests of the people, an understanding of their needs, of the most urgent tasks of the revolutionary movement, led Sun Yat-sen to the correct conclusions. At the very same time, the Communist Party, using the valuable experience of the Russian revolution, applied the correct tactics. The Third Congress of the Communist Party of China adopted, in the summer of 1923, the resolution on the entry of the Communists into the Kuomintang, with the preservation by the Communist Party of political and organizational independence.

This led to the revival and activization of the Kuomintang. At its First Congress, held in January 1924, a united national front took shape in the country. The Congress gave the correct interpretation of the three national principles of Sun Yat-sen. The first principle was "nationalism" — the struggle against imperialism, the second was "sovereignty of the people" — the establishment of a democratic republic, the third was "national prosperity" — the allotment of land to the peasants, the limitation of large monopolistic capital, the support of the workers' movement.

The three national principles were supplemented by the three principal political goals: alliance with the USSR, alliance with the Communist Party, the support of the workers and peasants.

The revolutionary movement in China grew, expanded, developed. It took the form of revolutionary civil wars against the rule of the feudal-militaristic cliques.

At this time, there appeared the young militarist Chiang Kai-shek. After the example of other sons of the Chinese bourgeoisie, he was educated in Japan. He was graduated from the Japanese Military Academy in 1906. Here he had mastered not only the cult of the sword, contempt of the workers, but also dreams about the rule in China of the bourgeois military clique. This was "the nationalism" of the reactionary youth.

Putting on a mask, Chiang Kai-shek joined the Sun Yat-sen "Union League." He wanted to lean upon the national-democratic movement. He succeeded in ingratiating himself with the leaders of the new revolutionary society. The future comprador had his own secret plans. He perceived the revolutionary movement only as a means to the achievement of personal power, and power — as the means to wealth.

Chiang Kai-shek was dying for profit. At the most difficult time for the revolution, 1918, he deserted its ranks and set off for Shanghai -- to speculate on the exchange in the company of his partner and relative Ch'en Kuo-fu. The biographers of the young exchange speculators servilely wrote about this period of his life: "Moving in commercial circles, he always acted correctly, and in a short time, having struck a number of profitable bargains, became a rich merchant."

Speculating on the exchange, where sharp practice was considered a talent, and deception, brutality and treachery -- normal professional qualities, Chiang Kai-shek became closely connected with the criminal underground of Shanghai -- the brutal Ching-Pang Society. The bandits of this gang kidnapped people for the purpose of obtaining ransom, and engaged in murders. The "society" had a large system of smugglers, dealers in opium, suppliers of "live goods." Foreign imperialists extensively used the services of such terrorist bands. Here, in the Tsinban, Chiang Kai-shek went through the school of treason and betrayal. Chiang Kai-shek spent five years in the corrupted, unprincipled and dishonorable environment of the compradors. He understood all the secrets of the banking intrigues. The golden cupola of the temple of profit, of the majestic building of the omnipotent Shanghai-Hong Kong Bank irrepressibly attracted him.

The young businessman undertook a clever attack. He was pushing his way through to wealth. But there were dozens like him; they were seekers of profit in the parvises of foreign banks in China.

The young comprador was pushed aside; he was not among the elect who were making fortunes in the millions.

Chiang Kai-shek undertook the tactics of a long roundabout way. He decided to get to power and to wealth in a roundabout way. He returned to Canton.

The anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolutionary movements grew and became stronger; in 1923, in Canton, was formed the southern revolutionary government. The revolution needed people who were skillful in military matters. Chiang Kai-shek became the Chief-of-Staff of the revolutionary army. In its ranks were many communists. With their active participation, the first academy of the revolution was created on the island of Wampoa. Having disguised himself, having covered himself with the mask of a supporter of the revolution, Chiang Kai-shek became the head of this academy. He used cunning and maneuvered carefully, hiding for the time being his ferocious hatred of the working class, of the working peasantry, of the democratic intelligentsia, of all the oppressed.

For Chiang Kai-shek the command posts in the revolutionary army were only rungs in the ladder to power.

With all the revolutionary passion, the military cadres of the Communist Party were used for the armament of the people and for their military training: it was only possible in bitter battles to conquer the armed counter-revolution of the northern militarists. At the head of the political department of the Wampoa Academy was placed a leading figure of the Communist Party of China, Chou En-lai.

The Chinese anti-feudal revolution developed victoriously. In 1925 the national revolutionary army conducted two eastern campaigns in the province of Kwangtung, wiping out the forces of the counter-revolutionary militarist Chen Chun-min. The communists were the soul of the campaigns, the bones of the revolutionary army, loyal and devoted, capable of mobilizing the masses for the victory over the enemies of the revolution. The units under the command of the communists won fame for themselves in winning the victory.

And Chiang Kai-shek? He was preparing the seizure of power. He intrigued against the communists and achieved their ousting from the First Army, which he commanded. Indeed his goal was not the victory of the revolution, but his own personal power.

On 12 March 1925, the most eminent leader of the Chinese revolution, Sun Yat-sen died in Peking. In his last political documents -- in his will to the Kuomintang, and in his appeal to the supreme organ of state power of the Soviet Union, the Central Executive Committee, he left his instructions, his political legacy to strengthen the bonds with the masses, to intensify collaboration with the Communist Party, to make stronger friendship with the Soviet Union. The goal was the revolutionary overthrow of the rule of the imperialists.

Chiang Kai-shek betrayed these precepts. He was opposed to one of the most important political directives adopted by the First Congress of the Kuomintang -- an alliance with the Communist Party.

He did this not only in the interest of personal career goals. The interests of foreign imperialists, with whom he was connected, also impelled him to do this. Indeed, starting from the events of 30 May 1925, the national-liberation movement in China acquired a still more profound anti-imperialistic character.

On 29 May the Japanese inflicted a massacre upon the workers. On the next day there was held in Shanghai a vast demonstration of workers and students. English and American police of the international settlement shot the demonstrators. An outburst of indignation gripped the whole

country. In Shanghai a general strike started and continued until fall. The blood of the workers, shed by American-English imperialists, raised in the country a wide anti-imperialistic movement, which obtained the name "the movement of 30 May." Strikes broke out in Canton and Hong Kong. The working class of China stood at the head of the revolutionary movement.

The foreign imperialists -- the English, American, Japanese and French -- became downright alarmed: against them there appeared a powerful opponent, whose forces were growing stronger. The imperialists intensified the activity of their henchmen -- U Pe-fu (the English) and Shen Tso-lun (the Japanese), resorting, through these puppets, to direct military support of the Chinese counter-revolution. At the same time, through Chiang Kai-shek, there were undertaken maneuvers for the purpose of pushing the communists out of the Kuomintang, of not permitting them to develop the revolution deeply or of drawing into the revolution the wide masses of the people, and of converting them into leaders and the chief political force of the revolution. In March 1926, Chiang Kai-shek, having declared himself "the Commander-in-Chief," carried out the arrest of a number of communists. He appointed his partner on the Shanghai exchange Chen Go-fu as the director of the organizational department of the Kuomintang. At the same time, demonstratively emphasizing this deviation from the most important political directive of Sun Yat-sen for an alliance with the communists, he appointed as rector of the Canton University the anti-communist "theorist" Tai Chi-t'ao. He was entrusted with the "theoretical" struggle against the three principles and the three political directives adopted by the Kuomintang at its First congress in 1924 as the program of the revolutionary movement of the Chinese people.

A heated struggle developed between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat for the leadership of the revolution.

The bourgeoisie gathered its forces, in order to defeat the proletariat, to make a deal with foreign imperialism, to put an end to the revolution, and to establish their own domination.

The proletariat gathered its forces in order to hurl back the bourgeoisie, to strengthen its hegemony, and to lead millions of the working masses of the city and the country. The proletariat won in the difficult, bloody struggle of many years; the proletariat conquered.

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Chiang Kai-shek put off, for the time being, the man-to-man fight with the communists, with the proletariat. He was counting on achieving, in the alliance with them, victory against the northern militarists and then to stab them in the back.

In June 1926 the National-Revolutionary Army began its Northern campaign. The communists again played a huge role in the army. They were in front — in the line of fire, their battle units achieved the decisive victories. The army of Pe-fu was defeated, the troops of Sun Chuan-fan were defeated; the revolutionary army successfully moved to the north.

The American and other imperialists were in a panic — they were preparing the counter-revolutionary coup, were conducting secret negotiations with Chiang Kai-shek, promising him a loan of 60 million dollars "for the struggle against the communists and for their annihilation." The comprador bourgeoisie accepted the order.

In February 1927, the National-Revolutionary Army began operations for the occupation of Shanghai and Nanking and the expulsion of the troops of the corrupt generals there. Three times the workers of Shanghai revolted — the third uprising began 21 March and ended with their victory. The henchman of the compradors bided his time. Chiang Kai-shek refused to come to the aid of the workers who had revolted — it was advantageous for him that more blood be shed by those who had revolted, that their forces be weakened: indeed he was preparing a bloody traitorous attack against them.

Nanking was occupied — the warships of USA and England were firing at the city. Almost 3,000 Chinese perished. Chiang Kai-shek appealed to the interventionists-murderers with a servile message.

12 April 1927 was the black day of the betrayal by the bourgeoisie of China of the cause of national liberation. On this day, Chiang Kai-shek shot Shanghai workers, and by order of the English imperialists accomplished a counter-revolutionary coup. The revolution was betrayed. But the coup did not lead to the total victory of the counter-revolution. The forces of the revolutionary proletariat and the peasantry, which started the agrarian revolution under the leadership of the Communist Party, were not broken.

Accomplishing the betrayal, Chiang Kai-shek acted not only as an agent of the parasitic capital of China, which was afraid of the wide scope of the people's movement. He acted also as a hireling of foreign imperialism. Indeed, the first civil revolutionary war, betrayed by the Chiang Kai-shekists in 1927, was directed against foreign imperialism. The revolutionary war created the danger of death for foreign imperialism. Chiang Kai-shek set up as his mission the placing of the Kuomintang in the service of the colonizers of China.

In the summer of 1936 in the newspaper Peking-Tuan-Tsin Nitsinitsi, the Chief of Staff of the Japanese army in Northern China Colonel Nagami wrote:

"If at that time (that is, in 1927 - D. Zaslavskiy) the Kuomintang and the Communist Party had not come to a breaking-point (the Japanese colonel thus termed the betrayal of the Chiang Kai-shekists - D. Zaslavskiy), then the success of the revolution would have been ensured in a matter of days. The influence of the imperialistic powers in China, and, primarily, the influence of Japan, would have been destroyed. Therefore the Japanese War Ministry manifested extreme anxiety and directed Colonel Nagami and Colonel Matsumuro to undermine the Chinese revolution."

There began the period of wild, unruly terror. Chiang Kai-shek, who was joined by the right-wing member of the Kuomintang, Wang Chang-wei, who was close to the Japanese, followed the rule: "It is better to execute a thousand innocent persons, than to let one guilty person escape." The inveterate traitors called this terror "the purge of the Kuomintang." The staunchest fighters of the revolution were eliminated. Not less than half a million of them were executed, killed, tortured in Chiang Kai-shekist torture chambers.

But new fighters replaced those who had fallen. In August 1927 in Nanchang, units of the national army under the command of Chu Te, Chou En-lai, Ho Lung, Ye Tin revolted against the Kuomintang terror. In September, under the leadership of Mao Tse-tung there occurred the revolt of the peasants, miners, and soldiers in the provinces of Hunan, and Shansi. The Chinese Red Army was created; it subsequently became the great National-Liberation Army, which liberated China from the power of the foreign imperialists and militarists.

And in the camp of the counter-revolution the desperate fight between the cliques of the Kuomintang was proceeding.

The period of intensified fascism in Kuomintang China began. Professor Ch'en Bo-dai wrote, "The powerful national vanguard -- the Chinese Communist Party -- resisted Chiang Kai-shek; the violent peasant revolution resisted Chiang Kai-shek; this is the reason that the counter-revolutionary dictatorship of Chiang Kai-shek took the form of a feudal-comprador fascism, and the Kuomintang was converted into the Fascist Party, controlled by Chiang Kai-shek and the brothers Chen Li-fu and Chen Kuo-fu."

But the brutal terror could not break the revolutionary movement. Chiang Kai-shek was seeking aid and support from the imperialistic powers, whose servant he was. He went to Tokyo; he was the guest of one of the directors of the Japanese intelligence service, Toyama Mitsuru. Upon taking leave of Mitsuru, he gave Mitsuru an autographed photo with the inscription "Close, as one family." Thus the betrayer of the Chinese people became related to the Japanese intelligence service.

The reactionary Chinese bourgeoisie fawned upon the Japanese invaders. When in 1928 the Japanese organized the brutal massacre of the Chinese in Tsinan, Chiang Kai-shek issued the order: "Not to come into conflict with Japanese troops.... For the sake of saving one Japanese, it is worth destroying even ten Chinese...."

Among the directors of the Kuomintang there was no unity. The supporters of various imperialistic groups wrangled among themselves for power. Chiang Kai-shek tried to subjugate his rivals by force of arms. But the Japanese interventionists did not need a strong central power, even if reactionary, even if fascist. They prohibited Chiang Kai-shek from opposing other Kuomintang "governments." He was permitted only to declare himself as "the central government."

In regions under control of this government, the people suffered. The peasants and city dwellers were ruined by taxes, and overpowered by the fierce orders:

- for resistance to foreign imperialists — execution;
- for dissemination of literature, which summoned to the struggle against feudalism — execution;
- for the organization of meetings of an anti-fascist nature — penal servitude.

But in the regions liberated by the Chinese Red Army, the forces of national liberation matured, the bases for the future victorious struggle were created, the organs of national power arose. Meetings of workers', peasants' and soldiers' deputies divided the lands of the landholders, realized the agrarian revolution.

The foreign predatory imperialists and Chinese capitalists demanded reprisals against the people, against the communists. It was not necessary to try to persuade the reactionary bourgeoisie; it itself hated the people, who were betrayed and sold by it. Fulfilling the will of his class, Chiang Kai-shek repeatedly flung his armies against the armed forces and the people of the liberated regions. His troops invariably were defeated. The patriotic ardor of the workers and peasants, among whom the communists were in the first ranks, gave rise to their victory. The counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie could instill into its armies only the spirit of plundering and profit. But the people were inspired by the great mission of saving their homeland from the double yoke — of internal reaction, and of the foreign imperialists, the English, Japanese, American, and others who were standing behind the internal reaction. And the idea which took possession of the consciousness of the masses, created miracles. Almost unarmed workers and peasants defeated soldiers armed to the teeth of the sorry conqueror, who had buried himself. The liberation army was equipped with weapons of the defeated hirelings of imperialism.

Four campaigns of Chiang Kai-shek against the revolutionary workers and peasants failed.

In an atmosphere of wild terror the unruly plundering proceeded. The bourgeoisie became rich. Military power over the people, whom it had betrayed, was for Chiang Kai-shek and his generals a promissory note, which he presented on the exchange for payment. They seized the central banks, subordinating all the provincial banks to them.

These years of the unruly plunder of the national wealth were strikingly described in the well-known book of Professor Ch'en Po-tai Four Families of China. Not even ten years had passed after Chiang Kai-shek's betrayal of the people, when all the banking business of China was in the power of four families -- the Chiangs (Chiang Kai-shek), the Sung (Sung Tzu-weu), the K'ungs (K'ung Siang-si), the Ch'ens (Ch'en Kuo-fu and Ch'en Li-fu). Each family owned one of the largest banks -- the Central, Chinese, Peasant, Transport. The head of all these inter-married families, Chiang Kai-shek, became the chairman of the united council of all these banks. During the time of his domination in China "the four families" amassed, by plunder, property worth 20 billion American dollars.

The violence of the reaction proceeded to the accompaniment of false declarations of "democracy," "reforms," of "independence," and the like. Having become dictator, Chiang Kai-shek remained a faithful servant of his class -- the great, predatory bourgeoisie. He was a comprador, who agreed to sell China to foreign imperialists. Without the support of the imperialists he would not have existed even one day.

Surrounded by gangsters, enraptured with police power, corrupted by flattery, Chiang Kai-shek thought that he was actually omnipotent, that China belonged to him. But louder and louder was heard the threatening rumbling of the powerful revolutionary movement which brought liberation from the compradors and their protectors.

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Without declaring war upon China, the Japanese imperialists in 1931 proceeded to direct conquest by armed force. The imperialists of the USA and England supported and encouraged them. Indeed, trampling the fields of China with an armored boot, the Japanese advanced in the direction of the Soviet Union. The comprador bourgeoisie of China, having accomplished the immediate betrayal of its people, not only did not oppose the Japanese aggression, but in essence shut its eyes to it. The comprador bourgeoisie was more afraid of the Chinese people than of the imperialistic aggression. It willingly assumed the task to fight against the Soviet Union.

In August 1931, Chiang Kai-shek declared, within the tight circle of his accomplices: "If China will be conquered by the imperialists, we shall be able to exist even as colonial slaves, if only to save our own skin."

When, in a month, the Japanese began their provocation in Mukden, he gave the order: "In case of provocations on the part of the Japanese, caution must be manifested and in every way possible a clash must be avoided."

The Japanese aggression caused an angry rebuff on the part of the Chinese people. The 19th Army heroically defended Shanghai. In the whole country the national-liberation movement surged high. Into the struggle were attracted the peasantry and the progressive circles of the bourgeois intelligentsia. Even the feudal lords of the northern provinces, fearing for their existence, under the influence of the people's national movement tried to stem the advance of the Japanese armies.

There was universal indignation against the Japanese colonizers and their Chinese agents. News about the bloody violence caused by the aggressors disturbed the workers. Conditions were created for the formation of a united national front against the imperialists. The internal contradictions within the Kuomintang became aggravated. The middle and petty bourgeoisie were for active military resistance against imperialistic Japan.

But it was this national enthusiasm which most of all frightened Chiang Kai-shek and his supporters from the upper bourgeoisie. They were expecting aid from without.

The comprador bourgeoisie discovered its complete political bankruptcy. Chiang Kai-shek signed the capitulatory armistice with the Japanese, offering them freedom of operations in the country. Depending upon the assistance of the imperialists, Chiang Kai-shek rose in opposition against the Chinese Red Army. This was a punitive expedition against the peasants, who were fighting for the land and for the independence of the fatherland. The headquarters of Chiang Kai-shek in Hankow gave the order: "Shoot one and all of the total adult male population...of the people's-revolutionary regions. Burn all the buildings in these regions.... It is necessary to cut with a sharp sword, without any mercy."

In words, Chiang Kai-shek had to appear as an enemy of imperialist Japan. In reality, Chiang Kai-shek was Japan's secret agent. His whole capitulatory policy encouraged the aggressors to further armed penetration into China. This was also furthered by the imperialistic policy of "pacifications" of international fascism which the English, American and French imperialists were pursuing against the aggressive "anti-Comintern" bloc, against "the axis" of Berlin-Rome-Tokyo.

The country was threatened with a deadly danger --- complete enslavement by imperialistic Japan. On 17 January 1933 Mao Tse-tung and Chu Te proposed the program of a joint anti-Japanese war: 1. The immediate cessation of the offensive of the Kuomintang troops against the liberated regions of China. 2. The guarantee to the people of democratic rights. 3. The immediate arming of the people, the creation of a voluntary army for the defense of China and the guarantee of independence, unity, and territorial integrity of the country.

This was an act of high patriotism on the part of the Communist Party, for which the interests of the people were foremost. How did the reactionary Chinese bourgeoisie answer this appeal? On its behalf Chiang Kai-shek declared: "The trouble for our country comes not from the Japanese, but from the gangsters from Shensi." Thus did this king of the compradors call the honest Chinese patriots, the people's-revolutionary forces, headed by the Communist Party.

On 31 May 1933 the Chiang Kai-shekist capitulators signed the shameful agreement in Tangu. The government of Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Ching-wei recognized the seizure by Japan of Manchuria and the province of Jehol, and the establishment of its "influence" in Northern China. It became clear to all the Chinese people, that the bourgeoisie was giving up the struggle for the independence of China, and was sacrificing the people to the imperialistic plans of war against the Soviet Union.

By October, Chiang Kai-shek was preparing his fifth campaign. The plans of this campaign were worked out by the Hitlerites, whose head was General Von Seikt. Against the Chinese Red Army were flung 700,000 Kuomintang soldiers.

On 2 October, Chiang Kai-shek gave a speech in which he set forth his program. "Whether our country exists or does not exist," he declared, "depends completely upon the Japanese...."

The American imperialists helped the compradors. On the eve of the campaign they gave Chiang Kai-shek a large loan.

The Communist Party did not cease the struggle for the organization of the all-national rebuff of the Japanese. Having shifted the bases of the forces of the national liberation to the border region of Shansi-Hensi-Ningsia, the Central Committee of the Communist Party proposed, in 1935, a program of a united resistance against the Japanese invaders. Throughout the whole country there was growing and becoming stronger the will for resistance against the invaders. The workers' movement was expanding.

In August 1935 the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China appealed, in an open letter, to the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang to form a united National anti-Japanese front, and to create the united democratic Chinese republic, in which would be included the revolutionary bases of the border region. The Kuomintang voted down this proposal, thus signing the death sentence for itself.

The disintegration among the feudal-comprador bourgeoisie began. In December 1936 the Kuomintang generals Chang Hsueh-liang, and Yang Hu-cheng arrested Chiang Kai-shek in Sian. He tried to save himself by flight -- he ran from his bedroom in his underwear and sought shelter in an out-of-the-way place in a ditch, and was discovered by soldiers. The Communist Party pursued a policy of conciliation, striving to restore unity of all the revolutionary and opposition forces, unity of the anti-Japanese front. Chiang Kai-shek pledged to press against the aggressors. But true to the nature of the speculator-comprador, he, of course, again deceived.

On 7 July 1934, Japanese imperialism began the realization of its plan for the seizure of all of China. In September, after long procrastinations, the Kuomintang adopted the proposal of the Communist Party concerning the creation of a united National front for the struggle against Japanese imperialism. In reality this did not mean a cessation of the capitulatory policy of Chiang Kai-shek. At the end of 1938 he carried out, through the German ambassador in China, Troutmann, negotiations for peace with Japan on the basis of complete capitulation.

The armies of Kuomintang, headed by the capitulators and defeatists, could not put up effective resistance against the invaders. Almost without battles the invaders seized Peking, Wuhan, Nanking, Shanghai. Only near the border region was the wave of the Japanese invasion stopped, only in battles with the Chinese patriots, with the Red Army did the invaders suffer defeats.

The Chinese reaction had to shift its bases. Chiang Kai-shek fled to Chungking. Here he did nothing, and watched the Japanese imperialists establish their power in China. They, pillaging the Chinese people, carefully protected the personal property of Chiang Kai-shek and flatteringly exalted his "wisdom." One of the fiercest Japanese invaders, General Hata, as a sign of special respect, performed religious rituals at the grave of Chiang Kai-shek's ancestors.

And Chiang Kai-shek was biding his time until he would be able to openly make a deal with the Japanese imperialists. He did not carry on war, and did not even declare war against Japan. It had become impossible to hide the fact that the upper comprador bourgeoisie of China was not capable of heading the struggle for independence. The economic ruin in

industry and in agriculture became the source of state weakness. In these conditions that were tragic for the people, Chiang Kai-shek was engaged in personal enrichment. "The four families" used his stay in Chunsin in order to appropriate almost all the lands around this city.

The bourgeoisie did nothing in the remote rear; the people continued the heroic struggle. Leading the union of workers, peasants and intelligentsia in the border region, the Communist Party was able to convert this part of the Chinese territory into a stronghold, inaccessible for the Japanese.

The agrarian reform in the border region and in other partisan regions, the wise democratic policy of the Communist Party created a strong rear area and provided national unity. This was the source of the strength and invincibility of the 8th and 4th Armies, created on the base of the Red Army of China. They not only repelled all the attempts of the Japanese offensive, but also proceeded to counter-attack. The victories of these armies strengthened their popularity and caused love for them in the whole country. The Chinese people saw with their own eyes that there were forces in the country capable of resisting the foreign invaders. The authority of the Communist Party increased; the influence of the Chiang Kai-shek clique, which had become bankrupt and demoralized, fell more sharply. The people were rising for the heroic struggle against the invaders.

It was not until December 1941 that Chiang Kai-shek declared war upon Japan.

The Chinese people demanded from "the central government" decisive offensive operations. Conditions were favorable for this. The Communist Party again and again renewed its proposals to stop the civil war, to unite the military forces and to concentrate them into the liberation war against Japan.

Chiang Kai-shek gave false, hypocritical promises, agreed, for the sake of appearances, to negotiations, to the unification of military forces under a joint command, to the formation, under the Kuomintang, of a national-political council with the participation of the Communist Party. But all these were maneuvers and ruses of the old businessman of the stock exchange. At heart, he believed in the supremacy and in the victory of the German-Japanese military bloc.

In this dishonorable, anti-national, traitorous game he was supported by representatives of American monopolies. Despising the Chinese people, they hated the communists and first of all thought that China was in the power of American imperialism. Patrick Hurley -- the official representative of the USA -- appeared in the country first of all as an agent of Rockefeller, of his powerful monopoly, the Standard Oil Company.

General Chenault commanded American aviation in China. He was up to his ears in work for the creation of the air transport monopoly, which, according to his plans was also to seize all export and import operations in China, to engage in the buying up of goods and lands.

Dozens of other American businessmen, large and small, priced, aimed at the resources of China, counting on plundering China.

* * *

Making a fortune on American supplies, Chiang Kai-shek did not wage war, and did not want to wage war against Japan. He was striving for agreement with her. Mao Tse-tung wrote in 1943 that Chiang Kai-shek feared the victory of the Allies, "because with the failure of all three fascist sovereign states, into the entire world would come a great era of liberation which had never occurred in the history of mankind; and the Kuomintang fascist dictatorship of the compradors and the feudal lords would become a tiny, isolated little island in the unbounded world ocean of freedom and democracy." (Mao Tse-tung, Selected Works, vol 4, Foreign Literature Publishing House, Moscow, 1953, p. 254.)

The American protectors and friends of Chiang Kai-shek, in particular that deputy of Wall Street, Hurley, adopted his plans of reprisal against the organizers of the resistance against the Japanese aggression and encouraged him in every way.

On the Chinese-Japanese front, Chiang Kai-shek only rattled his weapons, and treacherously sent his main forces against the liberated regions of China.

Here he appeared as a real ally of the Japanese, who had started "the general offensive" in the winter of 1941-1942 against the liberated regions of China.

Chiang Kai-shek assisted in this campaign: he secretly induced his generals to go over to the Japanese for this purpose.

The decisive victories of Soviet arms, of the Soviet people on the fronts of the Great Patriotic War caused a new enthusiasm, a new influx of the forces of national liberation. In January 1944 the front of the liberated regions of China, headed by the Communist Party, proceeded to counter-attack and hurl back the Japanese invaders. Chiang Kai-shek, treacherously carrying on secret negotiations with the Japanese, intensified the persecution of the Communist Party. He insolently demanded its breaking up!

In 1941 Chiang Kai-shek's book The Fortunes of China came out. In it was revealed the program of fascism of China. Chiang Kai-shek boastfully promised in this book "to destroy communism" during a two year period in China. However the days of his regime were already numbered. The ground was definitively cut from under the feet of the reactionary, traitorous feudal-comprador bourgeoisie. In the Kuomintang itself began the strongest vacillations; wide circles in all strata of the population began to unite around the only force capable of liberating China from foreign dependence, around the National-Liberation Army, around the Communist Party. Creatively using the experience of the Soviet people, of the Soviet Armed Forces, of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Chinese communists successfully consolidated the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, attracting into this union all social groups interested in the freedom and independence of the Chinese people.

In the fire of the Patriotic War a united, powerful National front was created and strengthened.

Only the compradors, who had gone mad with hatred of the people and with craving for profit, did not see this and did not want to see this. The American imperialists, just as greedy, as well as dazzled by the myth of their unlimited power over the world, did not see this and did not want to see this.

Hitler's Germany was defeated. The definitive victory over German fascism and Japanese militarism was drawing near. Counting on usurping the fruits of victory, the American imperialists in China were letting themselves go. Their deputy in Kuomintang China, Hurley, already considered himself an all-powerful satrap. The war with the Japanese was forgotten. More and more new campaigns were prepared against those regions which, in the heroic struggle, had been liberated from Japanese occupation. But in the battles with the people's-liberation armies, with partisans, the bands of the Kuomintang invariably were defeated. The armament and equipment which flowed from USA, went to the people, to the splendid troops, led by Mao Tse-tung and Chu Te. The forces of the people quickly increased. The armies of the comprador bourgeoisie were dwindling.

In July 1945, Mao Tse-tung warned the American imperialists: "If the policy of Hurley continues, the American government will wallow hopelessly in the deep and stinking cesspool of Chinese reaction, and will place itself in hostile relations with the multi-million masses of the Chinese people, who have already been awakened, and who are waking up, before our eyes...." (Mao Tse-tung, Selected Works, vol 4, 1953, pp 606-607.)

Thus it turned out. The American imperialists have no one to blame but themselves. In their anti-national game they had placed their cards on Chiang Kai-shek. They shared the fate of this corrupt speculator.

The outcome was not long in coming.

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After the defeat and capitulation of Hitler Germany the traitorous Kuomintang policy of dragging out the war with Japan was doomed to failure. Whereas the Chiang Kai-shek armies marked time, the 8th People's Liberation Army proceeded to decisive attack.

In August 1945 the Soviet Army attacked in Manchuria the notorious Japanese Quantum army. The armed forces of Japan in China were defeated. Not even one month passed, when Japan capitulated.

The whole Chinese people enthusiastically welcomed the friendly Soviet Army. The Chinese people had been liberated from the Japanese invaders. The governments of the USSR, USA, and England solemnly recognized its independence. The Chinese sovereign state was one of the five great powers, which had been summoned to guarantee the peace and independence of nations.

Chiang Kai-shek with difficulty concealed his anger, his fear of the liberated Chinese people.

His clique at first seized the political fruits of the victory of the Chinese people. The representatives of the reactionary Kuomintang appeared at international conferences and at the United Nations Organization. But they represented not a living, growing, democratic China, which had gone through the rigorous political school in the war and in the revolution, but the old feudal-comprador system, which had completely spent itself, incapable of independent existence, supported only by foreign imperialism.

But this comedy did not continue for long. Immediately after the capitulation of Japan, the people of China saw that they had been deceived. The American invaders had replaced the Japanese invaders. In 1946 the Chinese-American trade treaty gave up all of China to the power of the capitalist monopolies of USA. The great Chinese people had not taken up arms in order to replace one group of invaders and foreign robbers by another group of invaders and foreign robbers. A boundless anger seized all the honest patriots of China.

As always, Chiang Kai-shek was false to the homeland and betrayed her. Fulfilling the conditions of his agreement with American imperialists, he hurled his troops, American military equipment against the

People's-Liberation Army, against those regions where democratic power had been established and extensive social reforms had been carried out, where for the first time the great people-toilers during their entire centuries-old history could breathe freely and straighten their backs.

The American imperialists despised the Chinese people so much, that they did not consider it necessary to mask their predatory plans in respect to China. Nelson, the representative of the US War Production Administration, in a burst of cynical frankness, declared that "business circles of the USA should consider China as the industrial outskirts of the United States, which has not less, if not more importance, than the American West, as it was at the beginning of the 20th century."

The orgy of pillaging -- of unruly, venturesome, unrestrained pillaging -- began immediately. The American businessmen who had appeared suddenly in China were seizing everything that they could -- enterprises, railroads, mines, lands. Also "The Four Families," headed by Chiang Kai-shek participated in this pillaging.

About 70 percent of all the national wealth of China -- in industry, in agriculture -- turned out to be the property of Chiang Kai-shek, of "the Four Families."

The advocates of this band -- politicians and journalists -- chattered about the reconstruction and development of the economy of China. But restoration was out of the question. The break-down of the economy became intensified. Inflation absorbed almost the entire earnings of the workers. Taxes took away the remainder of the earnings. The country was rolling towards an economic catastrophe. Protests were heard even in the most moderate circles of the Chinese bourgeoisie, whose rule of American monopolies was threatened by destruction and death.

In July 1947 even the American Harper's Magazine had to admit that the Kuomintang was not a political party, but "a joint-stock company, ruling the country." It wrote about Chiang Kai-shek and his partners: "Some people, inasmuch as they themselves thus are making a fortune, would prefer the downfall of their country, rather than share with others the right to govern it."

But the times when the great Chinese people were helpless against unrestrained colonialism had irrevocably passed. The Chinese people had already become sovereign master of a significant part of the territory of China. The people irrevocably had set out on the way to national independence. Nothing could stop its victorious movement.

Incited by the American imperialists, Chiang Kai-shek sent his armed bands against the revolutionary army of the Chinese people. The American generals worked out the strategic plans. The American commissaries supplied the Kuomintang riff-raff with the newest armament. American instructors taught Chiang Kai-shek's soldiers. American aircraft sheltered them in the campaign to the north.

But the rotten stuff remained rotten stuff. The hordes of Chiang Kai-shek did not endure the thrusts of the People's-Liberation Army. Supported by all the people, the army went, in 1947, from the defensive over to the offensive.

In vain did the American military clique try to prop up the Chiang Kai-shek armies, sending him their armed forces to help him. The counter-revolutionary armies dwindled with every day. And the People's-Liberation Army irrepressibly increased and victoriously advanced. Mukden was liberated, in the battle near Suchow the main armed forces of the reaction were defeated. The end of the Kuomintang clique of traitors and robbers of the Chinese people was approaching.

In January 1949 the Communist Party of China asked the Kuomintang to begin negotiations on the conditions for the democratization of China and its complete independence. This offer was not accepted.

The People's-Liberation Army, victorious, moved to the south. Tientsin and Peking were liberated. In April 1949 the troops of the People's-Liberation Army, joyously welcomed by the people, entered Nanking. This was the end for the whole comprador-bourgeoisie, for Chiang Kai-shek. He fled to Taiwan under the protection of American battleships.

In September there was organized the central government of independent, sovereign China. On 1 October 1949, the People's Republic was proclaimed. The event of the greatest universal-historical significance had occurred.

In wrath, in helpless anger, the American imperialists had to leave the free land of the great people's China.

The illusions of American imperialism were scattered in ashes, its plans had failed. But anger and craving for revenge blurred the minds of the imperialists of the USA and blinded them. They did not want to recognize the great change in the life of the Chinese people. They were still living in wild fantasies. Their definitive defeat would be all the more crushing.

The class which had given birth to and reared Chiang Kai-shek, the class, which he had served — the upper, feudal-comprador bourgeoisie — was liquidated. Developing, China destroyed the remains of feudalism and bourgeois parasitism. The Chinese people, having formed a united National Front, was closely united around its democratic government, around the Chinese Communist Party.

Having adopted the Constitution, the people planned the program for the building of socialism in their own country.

Of the upper Chinese bourgeoisie there remained only fragments.

But the American imperialists preserved Chiang Kai-shek in the Taiwan jar. They still needed this puppet.

With his help they were preparing a new attack on the people of China. Having concluded "an agreement" with them in December 1954, they occupied indigenous Chinese territory — the island of Taiwan, having thus carried out an act of direct aggression against the People's China. For these purposes the American imperialists maintain Chiang Kai-shek, the traitor and betrayer, surrounded by contempt of the Chinese people, turned away and exiled by the Chinese people.

His life was the shameful life of the last comprador of China.

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The new socialist system in China has become strong. The vast plans for the development of heavy industry have been successfully carried out. The blockade of China by the imperialists was futile. The threats on the part of the USA were unavailing, were peremptory shouts directed at all who dared to trade with the Chinese people and to recognize the People's Republic of China as a sovereign power. It is impossible to isolate the Chinese people. They have loyal and powerful friends. The powerful Soviet state fraternally and unselfishly renders aid to them. The countries of the people's democracies and some capitalist states have entered into economic and cultural relations with China.

The victory of the Chinese people reformed all Asia and Africa. The attempts of the imperialists to destroy the republic of Vietnam failed. Burma and Cambodia were liberated from imperialistic dependence. The policy of friendship of free nations was formulated in the historic conditions of the Bandung Conference. Morocco and Tunis broke away from the grappling imperialistic clutches. The onslaught of the armed aggression of England, France and Israel was repulsed by independent Egypt.

The government of the People's Republic of China offered the Chinese white emigrants from Taiwan to peacefully complete the last page of their hopeless resistance against the victorious revolution. This appeal had certain consequences: the alarmed Vice-President of USA, Nixon, quickly rushed to Taiwan, and the President of the USA sent Chiang Kai-shek a personal letter, in order to give hope to the white Chinese emigration, to maintain among the white Chinese emigration a faith in Chiang Kai-shek, and faith in the effective aid on the part of the American militarists.

But the hatred of the Chinese people for imperialists and their agents was stronger than the American promises. This hatred, in spite of the brutal terror, literally a volcanic lava, burst open on Taiwan. The revolt in Taipei in the summer of 1957 indicated that the earth was burning under Chiang Kai-shek's feet even in his last refuge, under the protection of American bayonets.

Implacable time does its part. Chiang Kai-shek became older, his army was growing decrepit. The comprador class was liquidated forever. The Chinese bourgeoisie had no future. But the young People's Republic of China was flourishing. New cities and villages were growing. The peasant cooperatives together with the boundaries which divide the individual plots of land, destroy all that remains of the former poverty, darkness, lawlessness. The hatred of the new China for all forms of colonialism, and, consequently, Chiang Kai-shek was boundless. His name became a symbol of national humiliation and disgrace. What if he is still physically living! Politically he is dead, this last comprador of China.

Puppet of American Monopolies

D. Zaslavskiy

The Korean bourgeois agents of the USA demand war. They brandish their American arms. Syngman Rhee (Li Syn Man) shouts the loudest of all. In the personality of this old agent of American imperialism are reflected the most repulsive aspects of colonialism. The story about his life is the story of how an American gangster became a ruler — even if only a nominal ruler — of a significant part of the Korean peninsula. To become acquainted with the career of Syngman Rhee means clearly to imagine the shameful way of the puppet of the American colonizers.

...Speaking on 28 July 1954 before the Congress of the USA in Washington, and appealing for immediate war against the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and the Korean People's-Democratic Republic, Li Syn Man cynically declared: "By law and birth I am a Korean. But in spirit I am an American." Hardly anybody will dispute this murderous idea of his personality (as reflected by his own words). Syngman Rhee never had anything in common with the Korean people. His life is the story of the betrayal of the homeland, of dirty intrigues, and of aid in conducting the bloody policy of American and Japanese imperialism in Korea.

By the beginning of the 20th century Japan asserted itself as the chief imperialistic oppressor of Korea.

But for the Japanese imperialists this was very little. Japan coveted all of China. The American imperialists also were fixing their greedy eyes upon China. They did not take their eyes off Korea, surreptitiously supporting their agents, who were intriguing against the Japanese, among "the nationalistic" bourgeoisie. But they were doing this not for the sake of liberating the Korean people, of delivering them from the foreign yoke. But they were doing this in order that the yoke of Japanese rule could be replaced by the yoke of American imperialism. This struggle of the American and Japanese monopolies was expressed within Korea in the fight between their henchmen and agents, in the struggle not of two parties, but of two cliques: the dollarophiles and yenophiles.

The Korean people, who were defending their country with fortitude against foreign invasion, had to carry on the struggle on two fronts -- against the foreign invaders and against their servants and agents among the Korean bourgeoisie, who had sold itself to the invaders.

The people of Korea selflessly fought for their state independence. The dollarphiles, hurled back by their competitors in the underground and beyond the boundary of Korea, did not so much oppose the Japanese imperialists, as they oppose the revolutionary, truly liberation movement of the workers, peasants and part of the national bourgeoisie, ruined by Japanese capital.

From this environment of the dollarophiles came Syngman Rhee -- the descendant of the Korean dynasty which had ruled Korea from 1486 through 1910. His parents little thought of instilling in him Korean culture, the national traditions of their country. From childhood they sent their son to the American missionary school in Seoul which engaged in the training of cadres of American agents from the Korean bourgeoisie and feudal lords. The missionaries did not work without any purpose -- by age 22 Syngman Rhee was converted to the Christian faith.

Syngman Rhee began his political activity of betrayal for the advantage of Japan. Being, at a comparatively early age, a member of the secret council during the reign of the Korean Emperor, he actively collaborated with the pro-Japanese elements. He was accused of state treason. In 1898 Syngman Rhee was sentenced by a Korean court to penal servitude for life. And only as a result of the intercession of the Japanese envoy was the life sentence replaced by several years of prison.

Having stayed in prison the prescribed term, Syngman Rhee went to America in 1904. Here he went through the higher school of service for the interests of US imperialism.

When his training was completed, he took an examination in loyalty to American capital. Syngman Rhee returned to Korea in 1911 as an American emissary, invested with much confidence. He represented the celebrated YMCA (Association of Christian Youth). This organization, especially in countries of Asia and the East, often was used as a screen by intelligence organs of USA, which recruited agents in these countries. At the same time he was the missionary of the Methodist Church.

Thus the young dollarophile was converted into an ordinary agent of the American intelligence service. In his heart there was not the slightest inclination for the struggle for national independence of his country. He was not bound to the Korean people by anything. There was nothing national in Syngman Rhee. The American cosmopolitanism corroded, exterminated all patriotic feelings in him. He was educated as a renegade. He did become a renegade.

Korea, at this time already occupied by the Japanese, had been converted into a province of the Japanese Empire. At that time it was difficult and even dangerous to carry on work for the benefit of American interests in Korea. And Syngman Rhee went to the Hawaiian Islands. He organized "The Korean" Methodist Church there and "the Korean Christian Institute." The mission, which stood before Syngman Rhee, was the very same mission -- to recruit, from among the Koreans, people devoted to the interests of the American monopolies.

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The first world war was over. The people of Korea, tortured by Japanese rule for many years, robbed by Japanese imperialism, were longing to be liberated from foreign invaders. The living example of the Great October Socialist Revolution -- the light of peace, freedom and happiness for all peoples -- inspired the Korean people. The strike movement of the young Korean proletariat was growing, the Korean peasant was rising, the partisan movement against the invaders was expanding.

The attempts of the Korean bourgeoisie and landholders to direct this movement into the channel of peaceful conciliation were futile. In March 1919, throughout the whole country, revolts broke out in which two million Koreans participated.

The bourgeoisie, the landholders were striving to frustrate, disorganize this powerful movement. For this purpose there was created, in April 1919 in Shanghai, a provisional emigrant "government." By the efforts of the American agents among the circles of this "government" Syngman Rhee was declared "president" of "the Provisional Korean Republic." And although by 1924 every kind of connection of this emigrant clique with Korea had ceased, he called himself "the president" of the non-existent republic right up to 1941.

This "president" appeared at Versailles, when, at the peace conference which was taking place there, the division of imperialistic spoils was proceeding. He came not in order to protect the interests of the Korean people, the honor of his homeland, robbed and desecrated by the Japanese invaders. No. Taking advantage of his old acquaintance with US President Wilson, Syngman Rhee came with a memorandum, in which he tried to sell Korea wholesale to American imperialism, to establish nothing less than "a trusteeship" of the USA over Korea. This suggestion, inspired by the American intelligence service, was given publicity and caused "sympathetic interest" in American circles at the Versailles Conference. But at that time Japan was among the conquerors, and not the conquered. It was necessary to reject this project for American trusteeship over Korea.

Syngman Rhee disappeared from the scene for a long time, almost for a quarter of a century. The American intelligence service was holding him in reserve. He, for the time being, was not needed, neither as "president," nor even as a Korean politician. He was needed only as an agent and a spy.

Having forgotten about the country of which he had called himself the president, Syngman Rhee was arranging his commercial deals. Striving to take root in American soil, he adopted American citizenship. Connections with Korea and even with the Korean emigration in China were broken. The former "president" was entering into shady affairs. He was often seen among "lobbyists," businessmen, who, being active in the lobbies of the American Congress, do business in politics, act as go-betweens, give bribes, receive political and other contracts.

World War II broke out. Japanese armed forces attacked Pearl Harbor. The picture of international relations sharply changed. The problem of Korea appeared in a different light. In the plans of American imperialism it was destined to become only a link, a stage of the process of seizure of the entire Pacific Ocean basin -- Japan, China, Indo-China, the islands.

Syngman Rhee acted in accordance with this plan of American imperialism. He joined in the anti-Soviet campaign. As far back as 1943 Syngman Rhee appeared in Washington with "a message" from the so-called provisional Korean government (which was cooped up at that time in Chungking in the train of the Kuomintang, and under the protection of the well-known Kuomintang henchman Kim Ku). In this "message" he slandered the Soviet Union, asserting, that the USSR was striving for "expansion in the Far East." On the pages of the American press Syngman Rhee carried on a bitter campaign against the USSR.

The war in the Far East was being dragged out. The USA was not rushing to finish it. Almost not participating until June 1944 in the large-scale military operations in Europe, the American war machine, in spite of its evident material supremacy over the Japanese army, got tied up in separate operations in the Pacific Ocean islands, suffering serious defeats from the Japanese at times.

Among those who wanted the quickest cessation of the war, the entrance of the Soviet Union against imperialistic Japan caused gladness — the liberation of the peoples of Asia from Japanese imperialistic oppression was approaching. But for Syngman Rhee this great historic act of the Soviet Union caused an attack of rage and fear — indeed prospects arose for the real liberation of the Korean people from the yoke of foreign imperialism.

The enemy of the independence of Korea, the enemy of the Korean people, Syngman Rhee, not understanding and not wanting to understand the historic changes which had occurred during the last decade, blindly obeyed his American bosses. All Korea, according to Syngman Rhee, had to be converted into an American province, into a colony of the USA. For him the role of salesman of American monopolies was sufficient.

The Soviet armed forces, having defeated the Quantung army, put an end to the power of Japan in Korea. And when the American military clique, together with the capitalist plunderers, rushed into South Korea, it found the real boss there — the Korean people, who had fought for complete state independence of their country.

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The national-liberation movement of the Korean people started in the period of the Japanese occupation. It obtained the most powerful stimulus, the strong organization; it was formed in 1925, when the Communist Party of Korea arose, when in stubborn, heroic partisan battles, the battle-hardened cadres of selfless fighters pushed forward and were trained. The brutal terror of the Japanese invaders and their servants did not break the people's movement. It was based upon revolutionary workers and peasants; in addition there was the new Korean intelligentsia, there were representatives of the petty and middle Korean bourgeoisie, pushed into the ranks of the national-liberation movement by the colonizer, by the predatory policy of the Japanese militarists. The people's movement, led by the communists, was inspired and enriched by the experience of the Great October Socialist Revolution, of the building of communism in the Soviet nation, by the experience of the struggle and victories of the Red Army of China.

During the five years from 1931 through 1936, in the so-called Korean governorship of Japan (the Japanese thus named Korea, which they had captured) there were registered 23,928 battles between Korean partisans and Japanese troops. In these battles participated about 1,370,000 Korean patriots-partisans.

The whole population of Northern Korea joyously welcomed the coming of the Soviet Army. In revolutionary passion the people drove out the servants of the Japanese imperialists, the betrayers of the Korean people — usurers, landholders, corrupt officials. These betrayers of the people were seeking refuge in the south of Korea, beyond the 38th parallel, under the protection of American bayonets. In the north the people took power into their own hands.

But in South Korea also power began to go into the hands of the people's committees. The demand for independence here was universal. The American powers became the obstacle to the satisfaction of these just demands. Having appeared in South Korea, the American military clique did not intend to hand over the government of the country to its people.

In South Korea were created mass people's parties and democratic organizations. In their program they brought forward the demand for the national and state independence of Korea, democratic reforms and reorganizations.

The American occupation powers in South Korea, carrying out the imperialistic plans of US monopolies, drove away the people's committees, unleashed the activity of the reactionary bourgeois organizations. The armed bands of terrorists created by these organizations killed Korean patriots who were fighting for the freedom and the independence of Korea. They established in the country a regime of ferocious reactionary dictatorship, which was based upon American bayonets. The Communist (subsequently the Labor) Party of Korea, the staunch protector of the interests of the people, of national and state independence of the country, was prohibited. Mass democratic organizations were submitted to unprecedented persecution.

The policy of the regime of the dictatorship, created by the bands of terrorists, for the conversion of South Korea into a military colony of American imperialism of Wall Street could not, of course, be carried out without being supported by its accomplices, the executioners of the Korean people. This regime needed accomplices in order to keep the Korean people in subjection, to prepare the attack upon the people's forces in North Korea. For this purpose the old betrayer of his people, the American agent Syngman Rhee proved useful.

While, on the battlefields against the Japanese invaders in Manchuria and in the mountains of Korea, in the partisan battles, there were being decided the fortunes of the Korean people, Syngman Rhee was trading with America in the natural resources of Korea. The newspaper Korean Independence wrote 7 November 1945, that Syngman Rhee had agreed in advance to provide the American monopolies, in particular the Oriental Consolidated Mining firm, with mining concessions in North Korea. In exchange for this the American firm offered him a million dollars. The newspaper said that Syngman Rhee promised also to guarantee American rights in the mining industry provided that he be made head of the Korean government. In accordance with this understanding, a certain Samuel Dolber was designated beforehand as advisor for mining affairs in Korea.

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Syngman Rhee was taken out of the military-intelligence organs of the USA and the State Department at the end of 1945. In an American airplane, he was sent to Tokyo, and from there to Seoul. He went directly from the airport in Tokyo to General MacArthur for instructions. The first steps of Syngman Rhee on Korean land, in which he had not set foot for 35 years — half of his entire life — indicated the character of these instructions.

Syngman Rhee declared to a correspondent of the American army newspaper Stars and Stripes in Tokyo: "In Korea there are now 71 parties. Outside of two, all of these parties are communist or communistically inclined." He assured the correspondent of his intention to fight against these parties.

After his arrival in Korea, and at the very first meeting in Seoul on 17 October 1945, he maliciously slandered the Soviet military forces in North Korea. Of course! Indeed these powers permitted the free activity of all democratic organizations of the Korean people who had been liberated by the Soviet Army. For Syngman Rhee, the dealer in matters of his own homeland, this was not to his taste.

The newspaper Korean Independence wrote: "The political philosophy of Syngman Rhee is a dictatorship covered by a shield of 'democracy.' He slandered and destroyed both 'communists,' as well as all those who were an obstacle in his way."

Korean progressive organizations immediately recognized this scout of American reaction. In the spring of 1946 they made serious accusations against him. Exposing his dealings with American mining industrialists, they pointed out, that Syngman Rhee had incited them to violence against their enemies during his stay abroad, had carried on anti-Soviet agitation in USA and had fanned the flames of the civil war in Korea.

The war against the Korean people and their democratic organizations became the main business of the Korean comprador bourgeoisie and "the Korean American" Syngman Rhee. At first he tried to act directly. He obtained recognition of "the emigrant government" in Chungking. When this venture failed, his American protectors fabricated the so-called "constituent assembly" of representatives of reactionary cliques — "democratic" and national," with the participation of several small reactionary groups. This "assembly," which represented a handful of inveterate businessmen, even declared itself "the parliament of the provisional government" and announced the creation of "the higher political council," of the so-called "democratic chamber of people's representatives of Southern Korea." For some time this self-styled organ acted as an advisor in the American military administration. But the people of Korea boycotted it, refused to recognize it, and the American military powers had to dissolve it.

American headquarters in Korea had the task of uniting the Korean reactionary bourgeoisie, of subordinating it to the American command, of making a stable stronghold of the predatory colonizer policy.

Syngman Rhee was given this task: create a party of a reactionary "type." There was fabricated "the National Association of Independence," headed by Syngman Rhee. This was not a party, this was a "junta" or, simply, a gang. Into this gang, together with former policemen who had served the Japanese, came American gangsters of Korean descent, who had flown to Korea together with Syngman Rhee and made up his entourage.

Demand gives rise to supply. In eager rivalry, dozens of inveterate executioners of the Korean people offered their services to the American headquarters in Korea. Other bourgeois gangs, which appeared under the signs of various "parties," vied and competed with the clique of Syngman Rhee. They had played the master in Korea under the Japanese, or had come from Kuomintang China. They were all striving for power as a means of enrichment and did not want to recognize Syngman Rhee as their leader.

In these conditions any pretense at "democracy" was impossible. The road to fascist dictatorship was cleared by fierce terror, by the mass destruction of the democratic elements. In South Korea the orgy of murders, torture, general plundering did not stop. Cruel violences of the colonial type came down upon the population of South Korea. The people responded to this by uniting into democratic organizations, into the Democratic National Front, by an intensified struggle of the partisan forces of the Korean people.

Creating "support" for his power, Syngman Rhee mercilessly made short work of his rivals, the leaders of the bourgeois cliques. He used extensively the methods of the American criminal world. The competitors of Syngman Rhee, the same type of gangster as he himself, were eliminated by murders; they disappeared without leaving a trace; they sought refuge in flight.

As the right-hand man and high-executioner until Li Syn Man there functioned a certain Li Bum Suk. This 54-year-old leader of "youth" fascist terrorist organizations lived all his life in emigration, and conversed with Koreans in English through interpreters. Many Korean patriots perished from his hands. The other handymen of Li Syn Man were no better: the bribe-taker and the American agent Li Si Yen, the landlord of houses of prostitution Sin Hen U, and many other criminal elements. These were the types who were torturing, robbing and oppressing the people of Southern Korea!

The American invaders tried in vain to maintain "the prestige" of Syngman Rhee, having proclaimed South Korea a republic in June 1948, and having fabricated "the election" of Syngman Rhee as its "president." In answer to this, the Korean people created partisan detachments, which with weapons in hand fought against the American henchmen.

South Korea was a sad picture of universal devastation. Unemployment was wide-scale. The peasants were ruined and were starving. The landholders with impunity made short work of the poor and the farmhands. Industry was paralyzed.

A crowd of American plunderers swooped down upon South Korea. In the first ranks were agents, confidential agents, the largest monopolies of USA. There had formerly operated in Korea a Japanese colonial monopoly, which was named The Eastern Colonization Society. Later it was renamed New Korea. Under this mask, much land as well as mining and other enterprises of South Korea became the property of American monopolies. The Morgans and Rockefellers became its real bosses. In their hands was concentrated more than 60 percent of South Korean industry.

The American military clique and the bureaucracy were also making a fortune in Korea. MacArthur became infinitely rich. John Foster Dulles, at that time adviser to the US State Department, operated in South Korea as a big businessman from the International Nickel Company. Before the beginning of the war in Korea, this company received, in the third quarter of 1949, 5 million dollars profit. In the third quarter of 1951 its profits soared to 16 million.

South Korea was being generally robbed, both wholesale and retail. There were exported from the country raw materials and produce, the production of the mining industry, and ancient monuments of culture.

The Korean bourgeoisie did not lag behind its foreign bosses. Having taken shelter in a palace, afraid of his own people, not trusting even his retinue, Syngman Rhee was feverishly buying, selling, speculating, robbing. In a short period of time he became a fantastically rich man. Nothing seemed reliable to him in Southern Korea, other than American bayonets. And the richer the robbers and plunderers became, the greater was their fear of the people, the more violent their hatred of North Korea.

* * *

The people's power was growing and becoming stronger, the young Korean People's Democratic Republic, created by the people of all of Korea, including South Korea, was flourishing.

The people's power of the young republic applied the law of land reform, which allotted land to the landless peasants, laws about labor, the equality of women, the nationalization of enterprises owned by the Japanese colonizers and betrayers of the Korean people. The broad, real sovereignty of the people changed the appearance of the country. The people became the master of their own fate, their own lives, their own happiness. The patriotic organizations of the entire Korean people created the union of Korean patriots — the United Democratic Home Front. It developed an extensive program of peaceful unification of Korea by means of merging the Supreme People's Assembly of the Korean People's Democratic Republic and the National Assembly of South Korea; and for the development of a single constitution and for the conducting of democratic elections throughout the whole country. Upon the petition of the Supreme People's Assembly, directed to the USA and USSR, the Soviet Union withdrew its troops from North Korea. The US government did not even reply to this petition. It is true that later the US government announced the withdrawal of its troops from South Korea. But this announcement did not correspond to reality — there remained there many American troops, there remained military missions, American bases.

Exposing itself in the eyes of the people by its anti-national policy, as agents of American imperialism, the South Korean bourgeoisie, headed by Syngman Rhee and his clique were inevitably proceeding to failure. They saw salvation from the failure only in war against the Korean People's Democratic Republic.

In January 1948 Syngman Rhee boastfully announced to the representatives of the press that South Korea could mobilize a half-million man army for the campaign to the North. He assured the correspondents, that the arms for this purpose would be presented by the United States.

According to the decree of the monopolies of USA he repeated over and over again, high and low, that American troops had to remain in South Korea. On 11 March 1949 he declared that the immediate task was the armament and training of the troops of South Korea. For what? For the aggressive armed campaign against the Korean People's Democratic Republic.

The preparation of the military campaign expanded. In May 1950 Syngman Rhee told a correspondent of the United Press that he would be able "to unite" North and South Korea by military force, and that for this purpose he would need only "insignificant military support."

Syngman Rhee was impatient. He urged on, hurried his American bosses to start the war sooner, sooner. On 10 June 1949 he declared that South Korean troops could occupy all Northern Korea "if circumstances would require this."

On 30 October 1949, speaking on board an American warship in the port of Chemulpo, he made an appeal for "the unification of Korea by means of military force." Two months later he shouted that "the time had come to begin the intensified preparation for the unification of Korea by force." Rhee lied: the intensified preparation had been carried out a long time ago by himself and his bosses from the Pentagon.

In February 1950 Syngman Rhee conferred with General MacArthur; the perspectives of military operations against the Korean People's Democratic Republic were discussed. He demanded that military operations be begun in the Spring of 1950. And Korea was in the fire. Rhee was satisfied, he rubbed his hands. American planes were waging war in the sky, Korean villages were burning.... And the old betrayer was happy: soon he would be "president" of all Korea.

But the illusions perished.... The very old gangster calculated everything: how many tanks and planes, rifles and machine guns would be necessary in order to make short work of the young republic, to trample it in blood. He did not take into consideration one thing — the real force of the Korean people, headed by the Labor Party, of people, who for the first time had become acquainted with the joy of freedom and national independence. From the south advanced the slaves of foreign capital, deceived, disappointed, hating their commanders; they had been driven together into an army. Workers and peasants of North Korea, inspired by the high idea of the independence of their own fatherland, came to the battlefield for the defense of their democratic achievements.

The betrayers of the homeland, the traitors came from one direction; the revolutionary patriots came from the other direction.

* * *

Korea, young and full of strength, repulsed the attack.

Syngman Rhee had bragged that he would be in Pyongyang three days after the beginning of military operations. He blindly believed in American generals and instructors. But not even three days had passed after the treacherous attack, when the Rhee riff-raff crumbled under the first thrusts of Korean patriots.

Life had indicated that Korea belonged to the Korean people, and not to the American colonizers and their miserable agents. This had become clear in those days even to the American adventurers. Syngman Rhee did not justify their hopes. The Korean bourgeoisie discovered their complete weakness.

The American imperialists did not want to become reconciled to their defeat. The American air force, the navy, and the army were flung into battle.

But the sacred cause of the people was invincible. The people were defending their homeland, its state independence and national independence. The Korean people, with the fraternal aid of national China, frustrated the plans of the Washington conquerors, defended their honor, freedom, and independence. The Pentagon changed its commanders in vain. Victory did not come.

But Syngman Rhee came off unhurt. His bosses could not part with him. In his name they committed violences against Korean and Chinese war prisoners. In his name the conditions of the truce were violated. He was the mouthpiece of the most reactionary, most adventurist circles of Washington.

According to their assignment, he agitated for the creation in the Pacific area of an aggressive military group headed by the United States. As far back as in the spring of 1949 he had declared that the USA should assume the leadership of such a group, and that it would be necessary to convene a special conference for the creation of the Pacific Ocean pact, like the Atlantic pact. In August 1949 he conferred with Chiang Kai-shek about plans for the creation of such a group. In December 1950 he fought for the creation of this same alliance in an interview with the well-known organ of American reaction -- the magazine United States News and World Report; in November 1953 he went to Taipei to Chiang Kai-shek. They published joint statements in which they appealed for the creation of a "united anti-communist front in Asia."

The military operations in Korea stopped. This could not be prevented by the howls of Syngman Rhee, who had made an appeal for a campaign to the Yalu River; and had demanded the use of atomic weapons against China. American weapons, American military doctrine, American policy suffered defeat in Korea. But the American imperialists did not want to admit it. The reactionary circles appealed for a resumption of the war, and Rhee responded to these appeals by attacks of war hysteria. He again talked about a campaign to the North. He called upon American congressmen to go to war against the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, the Korean People's Democratic Republic.

"Rhee declared"... "Rhee does not recognize"... "Rhee threatens"....
The pages of the American militant press were covered with such headlines.

But Syngman Rhee had no prospects, just as the pawns in a hopelessly lost chess game have no prospects. The movement of the peoples of Asia toward their complete and definitive liberation from the imperialists-colonizers was powerful and invincible. This movement inevitably swept out of its way not only the henchmen of American imperialism, but also their agents and servants.

* * *

Out of the most extensive part of the globe, which for many years had been the field of innumerable colonial wars, the source of unprecedented enrichment for the colonizers, the new Asia, the Asia of a great free people, was converted into a powerful stronghold of peace and friendship of peoples. The powerful Chinese power was proceeding along the way of socialist development. India appeared as a resolute supporter of peace. Burma, Cambodia refused to participate in military blocs. The people's Vietnam threw off the chains of colonial oppression and actively took a stand for peace. The Bandung Confederation proclaimed the principles of the new relations among countries, based upon peace and mutual respect. There was an increase in the number of supporters of peace in Japan and in other countries of Asia, which had not as yet completely liberated themselves from the power of the colonizers. The striving of the peoples of the Arab world for an independent policy and against war is becoming more and more apparent. Boldly and resolutely, independent Egypt fought against colonialism, having withstood the onslaught of the military aggression of England, France, and Israel, having repulsed the attempts of American monopolists to subject the freedom-loving Egyptian people to their own dictate. The peoples of the former colonies are invincible in this powerful movement towards freedom, towards a worthy life. And this movement will be stopped neither by the American colonizers, nor by their agents and henchmen, Syngman Rhees or Chiang Kai-sheks.

Betrayer of the Vietnamese People

S. Ivanov

...From the windows of the palace, similar to a pink shell among the verdure of the tropical park, it was not visible to him how the crowd of people were carrying a scarecrow of the former emperor Bao Dai through the streets of Saigon. "The emperor of night clubs" drooped on the sticks with a pack of cards in one hand, a statuette of a naked woman in the other, with a huge dollar sign on his chest. The scarecrow was burned in the center of the city under the satisfied hum of people of Saigon. Bao Dai at this time was amusing himself in France on the Cote d'Azur.

Standing at the window, Ngo Dinh Diem tensely listened attentively to the noise of the crowd. His shameless face did not express any anxiety. As always, his black shiny hair was irreproachably sleek, the pressed suit deftly clothed his fat figure. The victory over Bao Dai pleasantly tickled his ambition: the family of Ngo Dinh Diem had no less right to the ancient throne of the emperors of Annam, than did the family of Bao Dai.

On this warm October evening of 1955 he was declared the president of the republic of Vietnam — the head of South Vietnam. But the new president, more than anybody else, understood the price of such a "will" of the people. And as he listened to the noise, among the curses that were poured upon the head of the former emperor, he was afraid that he would hear curses, directed against him — Ngo Dinh Diem.

There, beyond the grating of the palace, the people were making noise, the people, whom he, an aristocrat from the Ngo family, never had understood and had always hated, that very same Vietnamese people, who already firmly held in their hands the power in a large part of the country, to the north of the 17th parallel.

The American magazine Pacific Affairs, in a moment of frankness, wrote then about Ngo Dinh Diem: "He does not know the masses, does not trust them and does not know how to use them."

The French newspaper Le Monde said, through the side of its mouth: "This cold, reserved and indecisive person, this bourgeois, proper, pompous and lonely, far from the people, cannot evoke the enthusiasm of the crowd. He does not use the people's support; he is practically unknown to the population as a whole." "Without American support," the newspaper added, "his authority will be limited to his palace, if he is not driven out from there."

"American support" — these words immediately came to his mind, when the president began to sort out the reasons for his coming to power, for which he had been craving so much and had been waiting so long. He deserved it, this American support.

* * *

Ngo Dinh Diem was born in 1901 into the family of a mandarin of the first class. Three centuries before, when the colonizers had come to Indo-China, his ancestors had considered it advantageous for themselves to adopt Christianity. Since then they faithfully served the colonizers, holding high posts at the court of the Annam emperors. The servant of two lords proved his worth in a very singular way in the father of Diem, the old Kha. This devout Christian was an overseer of the imperial harem.

Ngo Dinh Diem was educated in the imperial palace "half-way between the heavenly paradise and the earth of humble people," in an environment of luxury, admiration for the emperor, contempt for the people. However, the stern Kha sometimes sent Diem to shell rice, so that the son might thus find out about the life of peasants. But even this did not invoke in the mandarin's son a respect for the people and for their hard work. The French journalist Lucien Bodar wrote about Ngo Dinh Diem that, as a child, he had become a Pharisee. Ngo Dinh Diem remained for all his life a hypocritical, sanctimonious person and bigot.

On the doors of the presidential office appeared the inscription "Women are not permitted to enter." He did not miss the chance to emphasize his own piety. "God is his first advisor," declared Bodar. "When serious and urgent problems arise, Ngo Dinh Diem withdraws to his own room. This is a cell with an iron bed, a crucifix, prayer books and little benches for prayer. He prays a long time on his knees, meditates, supplicates."

With all his piety Ngo Dinh Diem as a young man refused to take the cloth of the Catholic priest; he did not go, after the example of other representatives of his class, to study in Paris, but graduated from the civil administration school in Hanoi. In these decisions of the young Diem there was hidden a fine, far-sighted calculation: even at that time he did not want to be too closely connected with Catholics, of which there were few in Vietnam, nor with the French.

Like his father and older brother, Diem became an official in the service of the French. His career was assured. At 20 years of age he was already chief of a region. Having curried favor with the colonizers, Diem, with characteristic insidiousness and brutality, made short work of the participants of the movement for national liberation. In his region he smashed the revolutionary organizations of the New Vietnam Party and The League of Revolutionary Youth of Vietnam — the predecessor of the Communist Party of Indo-China. Having held the post of the governor of Nin-Tuan province, Diem resolutely and brutally made short work of the fighters for freedom. On his black conscience are hundreds of tortured revolutionaries.

The hangman's services of Ngo Dinh Diem were highly valued by his bosses. At the beginning of 1933 he became Minister of Internal Affairs of the imperial government.

The unrestrained ambition and the unrestrained striving for power made Diem clash with another colonial puppet — Fam Quen. Careerist Diem was defeated by his more successful rival and had to retire. Diem was nursing a grudge. He could wait.

It seemed that in 1940 luck smiled at Diem again. Indo-China was occupied by Japanese troops. While the people rose up with weapons in their hands against the invaders, while the patriots were fighting in the jungles for the freedom and the independence of their country, Ngo Dinh Diem together with his older brother Ngo Dinh Khoe organized a spy system for the Japanese invaders. According to the evidence of the newspaper Nyan Zan, in the archives of the Japanese intelligence service Diem was noted as a capable agent: it was he who cleverly stole important French documents and gave them to the Japanese.

But disappointment was awaiting Diem. Whether because the Japanese considered him an insufficiently important figure, or because they doubted the loyalty of the betrayer who had so easily changed bosses, the post of the puppet prime minister was obtained by Tran Tron Kum, rival and competitor of Ngo Dinh Diem. Diem had to be satisfied with an insignificant official post. But even in this post he did not lose time to no purpose, having been able to get rich through risky speculations.

At the end of the second world war, Ngo Dinh Diem came into the field of vision of the American intelligence service. This was the time when the colonial system of imperialism in the whole world was cracking at all its seams. Casting off from their shoulders the yoke of century-old slavery, the peoples of Asia carried on the struggle not only against the Japanese invaders, but also for the liquidation of every colonial yoke, for banishment of both the colonizers and their puppets.

Diem decided that his hour had come. Rather, the American intelligence service, which had chosen Diem among other betrayers of the Vietnamese people, decided this for him. The personal qualities of Diem played their role: cruelty, insiduousness, slyness, unscrupulousness, in the achievement of a goal, love of power, vanity, bigotry. A biography was created for him. The servant of the French colonizers and the Japanese invaders was declared a fanatic nationalist, a fighter against invaders and colonialism. For the betrayer and speculator was created the halo of an incorruptible, irreproachably honest man; on this glutton (those, who had observed him, wrote about the pathological craving of Diem for food) was placed a wreath of asceticism and chastity.

"He is a sincere, honest and selfless man," thus Ngo Dinh Diem was boosted by General Collins, chief of the special American mission in Southern Vietnam, "he is a really selfless and capable man, who seeks nothing for himself, but only for the Vietnamese people. He is a real nationalist. He believes in the freedom of Vietnam and stubbornly fights for this freedom, never vacillating. He did not compromise with the Japanese, refused to compromise with Ho Chi Min. He never concluded a compromise with the French."

This through and through false character dated back, nevertheless, to 1955, when Ngo Dinh Diem had become Prime Minister of South Vietnam. And at that time, after the end of the second world war, he was still trying to flirt with the French, until he was definitively convinced of a quick failure of the French colonial system in Indo-China. The son of the mandarin of the first class was frightened to death by the scope of the national-liberation movement. Ngo Dinh Diem saw the only real force capable of suppressing the people, who had revolted and whom he hated, in American imperialism, which was armed for the colonial possessions of its "allies." And Diem went into the service of the Americans.

* * *

The leaders of American policy did not rush to put Ngo Dinh Diem into the big game, whose purpose was the replacement of the French colonial influence in Indo-China by American domination. The connections of Diem with the French colonizers and Japanese invaders were still too memorable. Precisely for these criminal connections Diem was arrested by the powers of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, but soon afterwards, as a result of the policy of indulgence pursued by the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, he was set free.

When in 1949 the former Emperor Bao Dai became president of "the independent" republic of South Vietnam, Ngo Dinh Diem disappeared from the political horizon. A trace of him appeared in the United States. The State Department of the USA and the Archbishop of New York, Cardinal Spellman, were training Ngo Dinh Diem for two years for the role destined for him -- chief of the South Vietnam state. The training took place near New York, within the walls of a seminary for Catholic priests.

The French weekly Tribune de Nation wrote thus about the connections of Ngo Dinh Diem with Spellman: "Their relations were so close, that in the opinion of some, the Cardinal became in a literal sense the director of the matter of who should become the Prime Minister....." The young Jesuit priest Dulles often visited Diem and had long conversations with him. Yes, yes, the son of the present US Secretary of State and nephew of the director of the American Intelligence Service, Allen Dulles. The close connections of the betrayer of the Vietnamese people with the State Department and American intelligence service were established at "the highest level."

When in 1953 Dulles held the post of Secretary of State, he tried to conceal these obvious connections. Ngo Dinh Diem was sent to Belgium. There, in an ancient Benedictine monastery, he with feverish attention watched the events which were irresistibly developing in Vietnam and in near-by France. The colonial war was turning out obviously not to the advantage of the French imperialists. The French people, the whole world

community resolutely demanded the cessation of "the dirty war." The battle of Dien Bien Phu was marked as the failure of the French colonial system in Indo-China.

In May 1954, shortly before the Geneva negotiations on Indo-China, under direct pressure of the USA, Bao Dai appointed the American henchman Ngo Dinh Diem Prime Minister of South Vietnam. Nominally all the power was put into Diem's hands. "The chief of state" Bao Dai in fact left the affairs of state, "was resting" on the Cote d'Azur. "The power, which Ngo Dinh Diem achieved during this period," wrote the magazine Foreign Affairs and Reports, published in Delhi, "was not so much the result of his personal qualities and powerful will, as the result of the support which he was able to obtain from the powerful ally -- the United States. The United States considered Mr. Ngo Dinh Diem as their man...."

The French magazine Esprit called Ngo Dinh Diem "the favorite candidate of the United States" at that time when the United States "most resolutely was making up its mind to deprive France of control over Indo-China."

Diem went to Saigon accompanied by the priest, appointed by Cardinal Spellman to look after him, and Colonel Landsdale of the American Secret Service. The latter is known under the name of "trainer of presidents" -- it was as a result of his efforts that Ramon Magsaysay had come to power in the Philippines.

"He came," noted the French magazine Nouveau Femina et France-Illustration, "in an environment of general indifference. Only several hundred priests, nuns and village notables met him. The people did not know him, and his name itself was not known to the masses."

Diem locked himself up in the former residence of the governor-general, which had been renamed The Palace of Independence, shut himself off from the population by bayonets and machine guns. "His Palace of Independence," added the magazine, "very strongly resembled a prison or a besieged fortress."

* * *

During the night of 20-21 July 1954 in Geneva were signed the agreements concerning the cessation of military activities in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. The bloody war which had lasted for eight years was finished. The Deputy Minister of National Defense of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Ta Ku'ang Bu'u signed the first of these agreements in the name of the Commander-in-Chief of the People's Army of Vietnam; General Del'tais signed in the name of the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces

of the French Union in Indo-China. The signature of the representative of South Vietnam was not under the agreement, nor under the conclusive declaration of the Geneva Conference. Also the representative of the USA Bedell Smith refused to join the declaration; he stood at the final stage of the conference in "brilliant isolation." Washington had matured the far-going plans for the frustration of the Geneva agreements.

The Geneva Conference marked the defeat of the policy "from the position of strength" and the triumph of the idea of peaceful coexistence of states with different social-political systems, the achievement among them of agreement by means of negotiations on all unsolved questions. The Geneva Conference indicated the growing force of the national-liberation movement in the whole world, the increase of authority of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, which had steadily fought for the cessation of the "dirty war," for the establishment of peace in Indo-China.

The Geneva agreement on Vietnam established the provisional democratic line approximately along the 17th parallel, which "cannot be construed as being to any extent the political and territorial boundary." Along both sides of the demarcation line it was proposed to regroup the troops, to remove from North Vietnam the French armed forces. It was forbidden to introduce new troops, to import foreign armament and military personnel, to create foreign military bases. The Indo-Chinese states were committed not to participate in military alliances. Of great significance was the decision concerning the conducting in Vietnam, during July 1956, of universal free elections, the bases for national reunion of Vietnam under conditions of peace.

As the following events indicated, Ngo Dinh Diem did not intend to fulfill even one of these conditions. In this he enjoyed the full support of the United States, which was striving to perpetuate the schism of Vietnam, to force France out of South Vietnam, and to convert it into an American colony. Five months after Geneva, the American magazine United States News and World Report with unconcealed complacency wrote: "The United States — instead of France — has assumed the chief responsibility for the policy in respect to Indo-China. The higher political decisions, which until now had been made in Paris or by the French command in Indo-China, from now on will be made by the United States and their new special envoy in Saigon, General Lawton Collins."

However the realization of the American plans was inhibited by the confusion in South Vietnam during the first months after the conclusion of the Geneva agreements. The American magazine New Republic characterized in the following manner the situation in the country, which the USA was intending to make its colony: "In non-communist South Vietnam chaos rules. The country is divided; the struggle is proceeding, in

which participate civilians, generals and rival private armies; the situation threateningly resembles China in the last days of Chiang Kai-shek. In all its complexity, the situation is almost like a musical comedy."

The English newspaper Observer completely corroborated this estimate of the situation: "During the four months after the signing of the Geneva agreement the Prime Minister was on bad terms with almost all the political and military forces in the country, in which almost complete anarchy reigned."

The army revolted against the government. It refused to carry out its orders, and at night conducted anti-governmental radio broadcasts. The leaders of the feudal sects Cao-Dai and Hao-Habs, who governed in extensive provinces and who had their own private armies, arose against Ngo Dinh Diem. The sect Bin-Hsu'en, which controlled the police service of Saigon, considered Ngo Dinh Diem its sworn enemy. Surrounded by opponents, the government controlled almost nothing besides its own ministerial buildings.

It is interesting that the government created by Ngo Dinh Diem not long before the Geneva agreement, consisted of his closest relatives almost exclusively. Diem himself held the posts of Prime Minister, Minister of Defense and the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces (subsequently, after he had become President, he reserved for himself the indicated posts). His younger brother, Ngo Dinh Nu, was "political advisor" with very wide rights of interference in the affairs of the ministries, in particular, the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Diem's second brother, Ngo Dinh Ly'en, was Ambassador to France. The elder brother, Ngo Dinh Tuk, concentrated in his hands the control of the church. Ngo Dinh Kan, one more of Diem's brothers, and also his older sister controlled the most important branches of the economy. A number of key positions in the government and the administration were held by close relatives of Diem -- the Tran family.

In the conditions of the bitter struggle for power of the South Vietnamese feudal groups and generals, Washington definitively counted on Ngo Dinh Diem.

Senator Mansfield, who had made a trip to South Vietnam, in his report to the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, resolutely declared himself for support of Ngo Dinh Diem and against any possibility of the replacement of the American henchman for the post of Prime Minister.

17 November President Eisenhower sent to Saigon his special representative Lawton Collins to render aid to the government of Ngo Dinh Diem. "Thus," noted the American magazine Pacific Affairs, "it was clearly given to be understood that Ngo Dinh Diem, just as formerly, in spite of all his obvious defects -- was an American henchman."

The magazine added, that the government of Diem "acquired an unpleasant reputation of 'American puppet,' which hardly contributed to its popularity in Asia."

In Saigon Collins declared: "I came to Vietnam in order to render possible aid to the government of Ngo Dinh Diem and only to his government....."

President Eisenhower, in order to increase "the authority" of Diem, appealed to him with a special message, promising extensive aid.

And the betrayer of the people zealously fought for the fulfillment of the instructions of his American bosses, preparing to throw the country at the feet of the United States. With exceptional cruelty and insidiousness he made short work of all who stood in his way to power.

He was "ready for the establishment of his rule...to go to any means: bribery in respect to the corrupt, lies -- in respect to deceivers, goodness itself -- in respect to the naive and vain," wrote the French magazine Nouveau Femina et France-Illustration and added that Diem "had secured for himself victory by insidiousness, the sword, and fire."

"The authority of Diem was supported by blood..." declared the weekly Bulletin de Paris. Even Diem's bosses were startled by the methods by which he operated. "One American critic," wrote the magazine United States News and World Report, "called him 'a little monster, created by us'."

In the very first skirmish of the "little monster" with his rivals, American support played the decisive role. The question concerns the clash of Ngo Dinh Diem with the adherent of Bao Dai, the chief of the General Staff of the South Vietnam Army Nguyen Van Xuan. This was that very same General Xuan who publicly bragged that it would be enough for him to just remove the telephone receiver, and in five minutes a detachment of tanks would penetrate into the palace and would drive out Ngo Dinh Diem. The General did not exaggerate too much: the 260,000-man army had vowed "perpetual fidelity" to him, and the palace of the Prime Minister, allegedly, was guarded by a handful of soldiers, armed with obsolete rifles and fire-hoses for the dispersal of people's demonstrations.

Nevertheless Diem won the victory. Bao Dai in France had received an order from overseas, and Nguyen Van Xuan was removed from his post. "The Americans demanded that Bao Dai disavow this soldier who was too well known. Ignominiously he flew on a plane to France," wrote the magazine Nouveau Femina et France-Illustration. "Since then," added the English Observer, "the figures on the chess board jump up as a result, obviously, of some strong blows of the Americans upon the table."

Xuan left, but there remained the army with its generals, ready to occupy Diem's place. It was decided to reorganize the army. The Americans were engaged in the reorganization. The chief advisor of Ngo Dinh Diem on military questions the American General O'Daniel justified his nickname of "iron broom." He removed from the army all the generals and higher officers who were hostile to Diem. At the same time French influence in the army was done away with.

However, at first, these plans of the Americans were given a hostile reception by the leaders of the army. In the beginning of May 1955 Bao Dai transferred the command of the army into the hands of General Nguyen Van Vi. The General, who was dreaming of power did not reckon on the craft and insidiousness of Diem. The latter bribed other generals, who envied Vi, and once, when Vi thought that he was already near power, he had a narrow escape from his subordinates, who rushed at him with knives.

Using the opposition among the sects, Ngo Dinh Diem succeeded in putting an end to the private armies of the sects in turn, when their leaders refused to enter the "national" army which had been reorganized by the Americans.

By the beginning of 1956 the armies of the sects, weakened by prolonged bloody conflicts, did not represent a force which threatened the power of Ngo Dinh Diem.

For the methods of reprisal of Diem with his rivals, the story of General Trin Min Te is characteristic. This general was of the Cao-dai sect, one of those generals, with whose help Diem had put an end to General Vi. Diem and Te were considered close friends. Insidiousness and cruelty, the striving for the achievement of the goal without considering the methods, brought them close together. The magazine cited above, Nouveau Femina et France-Illustration gave, not without a certain admiration, the following portrait of General Te: "He was a little, silent, and very handsome young man with delicate, pure facial features. But for him the highest realization of purity and beauty was death, bloodshed, execution." When the power of this bloody sadist over the army appeared threatening to Diem, a bullet from a carbine of American origin put an end to life. Diem arranged a solemn funeral for him and, allegedly "fainted away" near the grave of his "friend." "But the murderer was never found," added the French magazine, "even if it is assumed that a search was made for him."

When, on the whole, an end was put to the enemies of Diem inside the country, then came the turn of the former Emperor Bao Dai. In October 1955, as a result of a falsified "plebiscite," Ngo Dinh Diem became the head of the state — through the kindness of the US State Department — the President of South Vietnam.

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South Vietnam.... Rich and at the same time poor country, flooded with blood, torn away from the North, where the people rule, by the whim of Washington. The United States needed a bridgehead for attack upon the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, for maintaining constant tension in this little corner of the globe. They found this bridgehead in South Vietnam, headed by the puppet President Ngo Dinh Diem. The strings, which make him move, are in the hands of dozens of important American advisors. Hundreds of petty officials from numerous missions of the USA filled the entire country.

Not much is known about the activity of the Americans in their South Vietnamese colony — the work of censorship and the police system was set up in model fashion. But the scandalous facts of the bossing of the Americans in South Vietnam nevertheless penetrated into the foreign press. The Indian newspaper Blitz in correspondence from Saigon under the headline "Yankees at the Court of Diem, or Diem at the Court of the Yankees?" wrote: "The Americans in Cochinchina behave just as if they were in Oklahoma or South Carolina — and they even feel more free here.... It is true, that Ambassador Reinhardt...comes to his audience with the President without his dogs. Reinhardt 'observes' the rules of diplomatic etiquette: he does not summon Ngo Dinh Diem to his embassy to inform him of the new instructions from Washington, but transmits them through a courier.

"However the rank and file members of the numerous American missions in South Vietnam are not hampered by the observation of diplomatic conventions: they behaved just the same way as the Hitler gauleiters in occupied territories in the period of the flourishing of the Nazi regime."

The Indian newspaper cited a series of scandalous outrages of "such Americans." "But the incident, when five 'civilized' officers of the US raped a 12-year-old girl under the eyes of her mother and then shot her," indicated Blitz, "is the most sickening of the great number of similar incidents." And here is what happened in a small Vietnamese village. When the inhabitants of the village tried to demand the punishment of the guilty Americans, the inhabitants of the village were punished in a manner typical for occupation troops: by order of a US officer, South Vietnamese troops committed the whole village to flames.

Diem, who hated his own people, was ready to destroy hundreds of thousands of his own countrymen, if only to serve those who had placed him in the presidential chair.

But worse than Diem's hatred of his own people was his fear of them. Diem knew: it is possible to put an end to dozens of his enemies, it is possible cruelly to make short work of hundreds and

thousands of true patriots, but it is impossible to kill the people; it is possible to bribe a dozen and a hundred corrupt officials, it is impossible to bribe the people. And all the same in the evenings the President anxiously listened to the noise of the large city of Saigon, on whose streets the police patrols were walking, and the American officers were making merry.

Only fear of his own people can explain Ngo Dinh Diem's refusal to conduct the election ordered by the Geneva agreement. Diem was afraid of the people of Saigon, Shalon, Gue, of the cities and villages of South Vietnam. And in reality, what, other than misfortune, did Diem's government bring the people?

It was already obvious to all now, that the American alluring programs for the restoration of the economy of South Vietnam completely failed. The economic aid, which constituted not more than one-tenth of the military aid which the USA rendered South Vietnam, did not permit the development of the economy, which had been destroyed. The foreign trade deficit reached tremendous dimensions. The country was flooded with huge masses of paper money. The only thing which the Americans succeeded in doing was the creation in the country of "order," based upon soldiers' sub-machine guns and police shadowing.

From the population of South Vietnam it was impossible by any censorship devices to conceal the fact that, in the North, their countrymen, overcoming great difficulties, were successfully building their own free state -- the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

It is easy to explain the mortal hatred of Ngo Dinh Diem for the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, for its leaders -- one bone and one flesh of his own people. The bloody Diem, urged on by the American advisors, was feverishly equipping his army with arms which the USA was sending to him, in violation of the Geneva agreement. He was dreaming about "the campaign to the North," about a new bloody war.

Such was the portrait of the President Ngo Dinh Diem. It is possible to give the essence of this corrupt, cruel, lying Pharisee in one word. This word is betrayer of his people.

The Suez Canal and the Imperialists

D. Danis

"Pyramids of corpses, mutilated bodies, cut-off legs and arms, skulls that had been cut into pieces, naked children swarming in the dust-holes, women mourning their dead relatives.... The streets were heaped up with the dead, whom nobody took away. In former times the splendid street Rue Gumhuria, the center of the business life of the city, now had become the most hideous place of Port-Said. Down the

canal, along the road which passes through the place, where I am now sitting and writing this correspondence, the dead were scattered about everywhere. It is difficult for me to write about all this, but this is necessary, in order that the conscience of the civilized humanity be revolted by the evil deed committed by the English and the French."

These lines the correspondent of the Indian newspaper Amrita Bazar Patrica, Shibdaz Banerzhi wrote in Port-Said, tortured, half-destroyed by the English and French colonizers.

Having undertaken the attack upon Egypt, the aggressors took vengeance on its people because it had decided to return the Suez Canal to itself. This canal had been created at the cost of the lives of 120,000 Egyptian workers. Firing upon Port-Said from warships, bombing from planes the cities and villages of Egypt, the colonizers, thrown out from this ancient, proud and freedom-loving country, were counting on intimidating the Egyptian people, on making it kneel, on forcing it to give up its own sovereign right to be the master of its own country.

It did not happen! The manly resistance of the Egyptian people, the resolute protest of public opinion of the whole world forced the American-English majority of the UN to censure the aggressors. The firm support given by the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, India and other peace-loving countries to the victim of aggression, forced the colonizers to retreat.

Having been defeated in the method of undisguised robbery and plundering, the colonizers wanted now to achieve their goals, and resorted to intrigue and blackmail, now depending upon the aid of the American monopolists. However, even in this method, just as in the method of undisguised colonialism, they were defeated. It was impossible to replace the yoke of colonialism about the necks of people fighting for freedom.

The Suez Canal is one of the largest hydrotechnical constructions in the world. The most important waterway of the present, created by the labor of tens of thousands of obscure Egyptian workers -- fellahs, completely and undividedly belongs to their descendants. In order to construct the Suez Canal of almost 173 kilometers, the Egyptians had to remove by hand 275 million cubic meters of earth and lay 3.8 million cubic meters of concrete.

The canal has been playing this most important role in the economy of many countries of the world for nearly 100 years. Passing entirely through the territory of Egypt, it is the key link of the shortest sea route from Europe to Southeast Asia and to the Far East. The canal reduces some sea communications 8,000-15,000 kilometers. A oil tanker

passes from the Persian Gulf to Marseilles around Africa in 67 days. The Suez Canal permits ships to go to Marseilles in 15 days. The main mass of goods turnover among countries of Europe, Southeast Asia, Australia, and the Far East is directed mainly through the Suez Canal. In 1955 through it passed 14,666 ships of 45 countries of the world. They transported 115.7 million tons of freight. In the words of the Italian historian Sammarco, "Egypt, or, more accurately, the Suez Isthmus...controlled in antiquity and in the Middle Ages almost all the world trade, and in our days not less than half. This important position for Egypt, just as the means of communication, has a great effect upon the history of the Egyptian people. The destiny of this country has always been under the influence of various states, and often has been decided in fierce battle for the political and economic supremacy in the East, that is, in a certain sense, for world domination."

The economic significance of the Suez Isthmus was understood in ancient Egypt. Attempts to dig through such a canal were undertaken in deep antiquity. The 20th Pharaoh of the First Seti dynasty, in the thirteenth century B.C., succeeded in uniting the eastern branch of the Nile River with the Red Sea. But the canal was subsequently destroyed. Seven hundred years later, during the reign of the Pharaoh Neco, there was an unsuccessful attempt to restore the canal. Work for the restoration of the canal, which had been started at that time, was completed considerably later. The Roman Emperor Trojan in the second century A.D. continued this work, having named the canal "Amnis Trojanus."

After the conquest of Egypt by the Arabs, the canal, restored and improved during the reign of Emir Ibn al-Asam, the canal was named "the sovereign of the faithful." In the eighth century, by order of the Caliph of Mansur, it was filled up in order to prevent the penetration of European ships into Arabia. The last unsuccessful attempt to restore the canal, which united the eastern branch of the Nile with the Red Sea, was undertaken in the sixteenth century.

A bitter struggle developed around the plans for the creation of a navigable waterway from the Mediterranean Sea to the Red Sea. It is known that in secret instructions which the Directoire provided Napoleon during his military expedition to Egypt in 1798, it directed him, among other things, "to open for republican forces" the path to India passing through the Cape of Good Hope. And when, in the 1840's the French began to undertake practical measures for the realization of their plan for the construction of the Suez Canal, the English opposed this with all their might. They remembered well that Napoleon had in his time been ordered "to drive out the English from all the possessions of the East."

Giving the French entrepreneur Lesseps the order of the Sultan for the organization of the work for the construction of the canal through the Suez Isthmus, Said-pasha, the deputy of the Turkish sultan in Egypt, had in mind the construction of a canal which would bring the country huge material and political advantages. In the order there were especially mentioned the advantages "which the uniting of the Mediterranean Sea with the Red Sea by a navigable way for large ships would present for Egypt."

The French, English and Americans were against the nationalization by the Egyptian government of the Suez Canal Company. They declared that Egypt did not have the right to do this, inasmuch as the company was not a national Egyptian enterprise, to which, naturally, the laws of the country applied, but an international company, which stood outside the sphere of the application of national laws.

Is that really the case? Even the simplest check-up indicates that this is far from true.

According to the first order of the Said-pasha, which was the preliminary act of the concession, the charter of the proposed joint-stock Suez Canal Company was subject to the approval by the Egyptian government. Only with its preliminary consent could changes be introduced into the charter. The director of the company had to be appointed by the Egyptian government, to whom was to be given 15 percent of the net profit of the company, 75 percent of the income which belonged to the company itself and 10 percent of that of its founders. The period of the concession was fixed at 99 years, counting from the day of the opening of the canal. "After the completion of the term of the concession," it was stated in this document, "the Egyptian government will occupy the place of the company, will enjoy without limitations all its rights and will come into full possession of the canal...."

Thus, the Suez Canal Company, which the imperialists want to represent as "an international organization," from its very inception has been an Egyptian enterprise, subject to the internal laws of the country.

Lesseps, who, incidentally, was the uncle of the wife of Napoleon III, not waiting for the complete formation of the concession, set about the organization of the Suez Canal Company. Four hundred thousand shares, at 500 francs each, were issued. Not waiting also for the ratification of the concession by the Sultan of Turkey, Lesseps in November 1858 began to place the shares of the company, half of which — 200,000 — was distributed in France. The English at that time in every way were inhibiting the construction of the canal, using for this purpose the supreme ruler of Egypt at that time — the Turkish Sultan. However, in this struggle, France ultimately won the victory. Work on the construction of the canal was begun on 25 April 1859.

The people of Egypt made innumerable sacrifices in the creation of this vast project. According to the agreement with the company, 30,000-40,000 fellahs were sent every month into the work of digging the canal. This caused great damage to the agriculture of the country. According to the admission of the well-known historian the Frenchwoman Juliette Adam, "a vast number of these workers died under the weight of such an exhausting duty; in addition, nothing was paid to their families, either by the company or by the Egyptian government."

The final convention concerning the construction of the Suez Canal was signed on 22 February 1866. According to its clauses, the Suez Canal Company is "an Egyptian company, is governed by laws and customs of the country." All disputes in Egypt between the company and private persons of any nationality, it was stated in the convention, will be decided by local courts. Disputes between the Egyptian government and the company also will be brought before local courts and decided in accordance with the laws of the country. In other words, the Suez Canal Company from the very beginning was an Egyptian enterprise. What is more, it was directly indicated in the convention that the Egyptian government has the right to occupy "any position or any strategic point in the canal zone which it will consider necessary for the defense of the country." Only "in matters which concern its organization as a company and the relations of its stock-holders is it regulated on the basis of a special convention by laws under which joint-stock companies are controlled in France." Now clinging to this stipulation, without, to any extent, refuting Egypt's ownership of the canal and its right to control all its affairs, the French, and behind them the English and Americans are trying to attach the appearance of legality to their imperialistic importunities for the Suez Canal.

The Suez Canal came at a dear price for the people of Egypt. The country was exhausted. Egypt's foreign debt by 1873 reached 68,497,000 Egyptian pounds. The attempts of the Egyptian government to get out of financial difficulties were unsuccessful — the foreign banks refused to grant it a new loan. The rulers of the country at that time had to resort to the sale of Egyptian control of a packet of shares of the company of the Suez Canal. England took advantage of this. In deep secrecy, Prime Minister Disraeli at that time acquired for England 172,602 (that is 44 percent) shares of the company of the Suez Canal for only 3,976,580 pounds sterling.

Having bought for a mere trifle an important share in the income from the exploitation of this most important seaway, Disraeli declared at a meeting of the House of Commons: "I always had presented and recommended this matter to the country as a political transaction, as a transaction, which was destined to strengthen the empire...."

As a result of the maneuvers of the colonizers, Egypt was deprived of the very minimum material compensation: not only 44 percent of the shares of the Egyptian government had gone into the hands of Englishmen, but also 15 percent of the income, stipulated for Egypt by the concession agreement, were intercepted by the French. Having paid that meager sum for 44 percent of the shares of the Suez Canal Company (subsequently the number of shares bought up went up to 800,000, with England's portion being 353,504 shares), England made enormous profits on them. After the second world war the shares which belonged to England were already estimated at several hundred million pounds. To an equal extent, French shareholders grew rich. In spite of all this, the canal remained an integral part of Egyptian territory, and the Suez Canal Company remained an Egyptian enterprise, all the property of which in 1968 was to become the property of the Egyptian government. Having adopted on 26 July 1956 the resolution concerning the nationalization of the property of the former Suez Canal Company, the government of Egypt performed the most legal sovereign act. Even such pettifoggers as Dulles could not question the legality of this nationalization.

Unleashing the aggression against Egypt, the English and French imperialists asserted that they were striving to guarantee freedom of navigation through the Suez Canal. But, as events indicated, Egypt was not threatening this freedom. It was being threatened by the unmasked "defenders" of this freedom — England and France, who were violating navigation along the canal.

How does the matter stand with this freedom of navigation along the canal?

Article 14 of the concession act of 5 January 1866, which has not become invalid even up to the present time, directly states: "We solemnly announce...a large sea canal from the Suez to Peluzium and the ports connected with it are open, neutral ways forever...for any trade ship, which passes from one sea to the other, not making any difference, exception, and preference for whomever it might be, and whatever the nationality." This article has been strictly observed and is being observed by Egypt.

Freedom of navigation along the canal was confirmed in 1882 in a special report, signed at the Constantinople Conference of six powers: Russia, England, France, Italy, Austria-Hungary, and Germany.

Then, on 29 October 1888 in Constantinople was signed the convention which confirmed "the existence of a definite order, which must protect for all times and for all states free use of the Suez Canal." In accordance with this convention the canal must be "always free and open for all commercial ships and warships, without differentiation of

flags" both in war, as well as in peace time. The right of blockade of the canal must never be used. The powers must not in any way violate the guarantee of the canal and its branches, the inviolability of its material part, must not permit any military operations in the region of three nautical miles from the ports on the canal or operations, whose purpose is the violation of free navigation along the canal, not to keep any warships in its waters.

Observation over the fulfillment of this convention was entrusted to the representatives of the powers who had signed the convention. Upon the arising of a threat to the inviolability of the canal they must inform the Egyptian government of it so that "proper measures for the guarantee of free use of the canal" may then be taken.

Thus, according to the convention, freedom of navigation through the canal is guaranteed by the Egyptian government and not any other government. The convention does not preclude measures which the Egyptian government has to take for the defense of Egypt under the condition of observance of freedom of navigation.

England, which had occupied Egypt by this time, signed the convention of 1888. However it inserted into it a stipulation that the conditions of the convention apply only within the limits of their compatibility with the English occupation of Egypt, and only if they do not "disturb the freedom of operations" of the English government. In 1904, at the signing of the Anglo-French treaty concerning the division of the sphere of influence in Africa, England replaced this stipulation by another, according to which Egypt was deprived of the right to take "appropriate measures to guarantee the free use of the canal."

During World War I, England, in spite of the conditions, led her troops into the canal zone, constructed fortifications and established its complete control over the passage of ships through the canal. It established a military protectorate over Egypt.

In a difficult struggle Egypt achieved, in 1922, a formal abolition of the shameful colonial regime. However the domination of England in Egypt continued for about a quarter of a century longer on the basis of agreements and the treaty involving the alliance.

It is characteristic, however, that, even pressing the enslaving agreement of 1936 upon Egypt, England could not recognize the Suez Canal as an integral part of Egypt. It confirmed the right of Egypt to guarantee the freedom and safety of navigation through the canal. At the same time, England was systematically violating the convention of 1888 and the Anglo-Egyptian treaty of 1936. In 1951 English warships occupied the ports of the Suez Canal, and more than 80,000

English soldiers were sent into the canal zone. In a note to the English Embassy of 29 November 1951 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Egypt noted that "the Suez Canal, which is a seaway of international importance, at the present time has been actually taken over by one foreign power, namely Great Britain."

As concerns the attitude of Egypt to the freedom of navigation, Nasser, President of the Egyptian Republic, declared: "Nationalization does not in any way, nor in any measure, affect the international obligations of Egypt." The convention of 1888, he indicated, will be completely preserved; "freedom of navigation through the Suez Canal is not infringed upon and is not affected in any way nor to any extent."

Thus stands the matter with the "problem" of freedom of navigation along the Suez Canal.

England systematically violated the conditions concerning the freedom of navigation. Having unleashed the aggression against Egypt, England and France not only most grossly violated this freedom, but put it out of operation for a long time.

Such operations of the colonizers could not to any extent be justified by the assertions of the governments of England and France that they had undertaken an attack upon Egypt for the purpose of stopping the military operations which Israel had begun against Egypt.

As concerns the property rights of the stockholders of the Suez Canal Company, the resolution of the Egyptian government concerning the nationalization of this company clearly states that "the stockholders and holders of the original shares will receive compensation for their shares according to prices quoted on the Paris securities exchange on the day previous to the present law's entering into effect." The resolution of the Egyptian government concerning the nationalization of the Suez Canal Company completely corresponded to the standards established by the concession acts for the period of the expiration of the term of the concession. Consequently, the whole "conflict" amounted to this: the transfer of the company to Egypt, stipulated 88 years before, had been carried out 12 years ahead of time.

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The armed attack upon Egypt, organized by the imperialists of England, France and started by Israel, was bloody revenge for the completely legal resolution of the Egyptian government nationalizing the Suez Canal Company and transferring into its hands control over the canal which belonged to it. Beginning their military attack, the imperialists were counting on a quick victory over this country. They wanted to frighten

the Egyptian people, to make it kneel down and subject it to their will, in order to dictate its conditions of control over the canal to the Egyptian people.

Behind the armed aggression against Egypt stood the powerful imperialistic monopolies. Indeed, with the former Suez Canal Company were connected the largest ship and oil companies of England, France and the USA: the Iraqi Oil Company, the former Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, Rockefeller's Standard Oil of New Jersey, the French Oil Company, the French Bank of Indo-China, English, French and Franco-German arms production concerns. They all were in some degree interested in having the control of the canal not be Egyptian. They did not want to lose the source of unprecedented enrichment: by 1954 the annual profits of the company reached the huge sum of 10.5 billion francs.

But this was not the whole issue. Trying to organize the reprisal against the people of Egypt, the imperialists did not conceal their intention of frightening the other countries of the Near East, in whose consciousness, as the press of Western countries unanimously recognized, there matured more and more, for example, the idea of the nationalization of foreign concessions for the exploitation of oil deposits in those countries. The American oil monopolies, admitted the newspaper New York Herald Tribune, fear that if Egypt's nationalization of the Suez Canal Company remains unpunished, then "a precedent will be created, which in essence will stimulate other Near Eastern countries to seize oil concessions and oil pipelines under the pretense of nationalization." The organ of big capital of USA, the New York weekly Newsweek expressed the fear that the successes of Egypt in the field of the realization of its legal rights to the canal "effect the imagination of the Arab peoples."

The thrust of the imperialists was directed against Egypt not only because, being located at the junction of the continents, it has vast strategic importance as the hub of the most important communications. The fact is that, first of all, Egypt recently began to play an important role in the activation of the anti-imperialistic position of the countries of the Arab East.

In 1951 the majority of Arab countries resolutely refused to enter the aggressive war bloc, proposed by the western powers in the form of the so-called "Middle East Command." In 1955 the Arab countries resolutely censured Iraq for its participation in the creation, on the initiative of England and with the direct encouragement of the USA, of the aggressive military group -- the Bagdad Pact. In December 1955 the attempts of England to draw Jordan into the Bagdad Pact failed.

Recently the Arab countries, following their national interests, began to expand trade, economic and cultural connections with countries of the democratic camp, countries of the people's democracies, with the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China.

In Bandung was held the historic conference of countries of Asia and Africa, which had laid at the basis of the foreign policy of its participants the well-known principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

In all these events the Egyptian Republic played a large role.

In the conditions of the development of the national-liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia and Africa, the process of disintegration of the colonial system began to increase at an unprecedented tempo. In a short time, especially after the second world war, separated from the colonial system were the most extensive territories, richest countries, populated with hundreds of millions of peoples. On the road of independent development stood Syria, Lebanon, India, Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia, Ghana, Malaya, Jordan, Libya, Indo-China, Sudan and, finally, Morocco and Tunis. The ground was burning under the feet of the colonizers in Kenya and in many other countries, whose peoples rose up in the sacred struggle for their liberation from the age-old colonial yoke.

In this struggle of the peoples for their liberation from colonial domination, Egypt occupied one of the most advanced positions. After the liquidation of the corrupt monarchy it became the center for the assembling of the forces of the Arab states in the struggle against the new forms of imperialistic enslavement of the eastern peoples.

In October 1954, England was forced to sign an agreement concerning the removal of its troops from the territory of Egypt. England had been keeping troops there since 1882. Egypt began to reconstruct its national defense on an independent basis, reorganizing its armed forces without the trusteeship of the military advisors, specialists and experts of the western powers. All this led to Egypt's beginning to assume, for other eastern countries, the status of an example for the conducting of an independent national policy, which liberated the country from the domination of many years of the western powers. Egypt's putting into effect of the principles of the Bandung conference more and more strengthened its independence, converted it into an important, independent factor of international policy.

This also provoked the attack of the English and French colonizers, who had lost their heads, upon the country, upon the country which had only recently achieved national liberation from the yoke of imperialism, and had started on the road of independent development.

Extending its campaign against Egypt, the imperialist powers decided to begin with economic pressure. Through economic pressure they were counting on making the country bow down and dictating their will to it. For this purpose, the USA and England unexpectedly declared that they refused to extend credit to Egypt for the construction of the Aswan Dam and the powerful hydroelectric power station on the Nile River, in spite of the understanding which had been reached in December 1955. This was a strong blow for Egypt. Realization of the project would permit Egypt to obtain a sufficient quantity of cheap electric power, to construct a powerful chemical fertilizer plant, and to increase the area of cultivated lands in the country by 33 percent, bringing it up to 8 million feddan.

Refusing credits for the construction of the Aswan Dam, the USA and England openly declared to Egypt that they had resorted to this because the independent policy followed by the Egyptian government did not suit them. "They want to punish Egypt because it had refused to participate in military blocs, and because it fought for peace and for peaceful coexistence of the states," stated President Nasser in his speech in Alexandria on 26 July 1956. In that very same speech the President of Egypt indicated that, for the realization of the plans of economic development of Egypt, including the construction of the Aswan Dam, Egypt would use part of the income of the Suez Canal Company, which reached 35 million pounds per year, of which Egypt received only 1 million.

Such were the circumstances under which, on 26 July 1956, the Egyptian government nationalized the Suez Canal Company.

What did the governments of England and France do? Did they recognize this legal and just act?

Not at all.

The English government sequestered all the sterling accounts of Egypt in the Bank of England and all the assets of the former Suez Canal Company in England.

At the same time the English government, in the words of Prime Minister Eden, decided to take "certain measures" of a military character. It is true that from the very first moment of this warlike fever in England sober voices began to be heard. Gaitskill, leader of the Labor Party, for example, declared: "We must not tolerate such a situation, when we would be censured in the Security Council as aggressors or when the majority of the Assembly would be against us." These warnings did not sober up the venturesome politicians of 10 Downing Street.

It is significant that the USA occupied a special position on the Suez question. It did not brandish its arms, did not threaten Egypt with war. But the USA not only supported the Anglo-French measures

preventing a peaceful settling of the Suez problem and directed at the unleashing of a war against Egypt, but also tried to thrust upon Egypt the unacceptable conditions which deprived it of sovereign rights in respect to the canal. The declarations of the statesmen of the USA in essence supported the aggressive position of England and France.

This is clear. The USA had to take into consideration the fact that peoples of all countries of the East unanimously approved the resolution of the Egyptian government. And an openly hostile position with respect to Egypt could cause irreparable damage to the United States, threaten the richest American oil concessions in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, on the Bahrein islands and in Iran, and also the trans-Arabian oil pipeline, which passes through the territory of four Arab states. All this forced the USA to occupy, in words, a position acceptable to the Arabs. But as a matter of fact, their position was hostile to Egypt. This, undoubtedly, also induced England and France to aggression against Egypt; it started with the armed attack of Israel upon Egypt. Israel crossed the Egyptian border on the very same day, when in accordance with the resolution of the Security Council, the representatives of England, France and Egypt had to meet in Geneva for the peaceful settlement of the Suez problem through negotiation.

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The Anglo-Franco-Israeli aggression cost Egypt a great deal. Cities were destroyed, historic monuments and great material values were destroyed, thousands of innocent people were killed and wounded. But the "civilized" barbarians of the 20th century had miscalculated. They could not make the people of Egypt bow down. Manfully rising up for the defense of their homeland, their independence, they upset all the calculations of the imperialists, frustrated the plans of the colonizers. They withstood the onslaught of three states and defended their independence in this difficult and unequal struggle. The Egyptian people did not remain alone in the face of aggression. The USSR and other peace-loving countries of the world rendered it much aid in its just struggle. By their common efforts the notorious imperialistic policy "from the position of strength" failed. The Anglo-Franco-Israeli aggressors suffered a moral-political and military defeat. And only with great difficulty, by means of various behind-the-scene maneuvers in the UN, the United States succeeded in protecting the aggressors — England, France, and Israel — against serious responsibility for the war which they had unleashed.

It is significant that the military venture of England, France and Israel caused great damage to the peoples of these countries. In England and France the shortage of oil and oil products began to be felt sharply. Production was decreased, unemployment began to increase.

England and France had to spend their dollar reserves for purchase of oil at increased prices in the US. The American magazine Newsweek, in its issue of 18 March 1957, calculated the direct and indirect losses of England and France caused by their aggression against Egypt. In England they reached 725 million dollars, of which for direct military expenditures were spent 125 million, for additional expenses for the supply of oil from the Western Hemisphere -- 320 million, for the rise in prices of sea transport around the Cape of Good Hope -- 100 million. Acting in accordance with its rights as a victim of aggression, Egypt sequestered 180 million dollars of English property.

The attack upon Egypt cost France 1,307 million dollars, of which 57 million was spent for military expenditures; losses connected with the cessation of navigation through the canal reached 250 million; Egypt, as the victim of aggression, sequestered 1,000 million dollars of French property.

But the failure of the Anglo-Franco-Israeli aggression against Egypt did not sober the pretenders to colonial domination. The United States of America, taking a series of measures, directed at the strengthening of its colonialistic positions in the countries of the Near and Middle East, advanced the "theory" of the so-called "power vacuum," which would be formed in the Near and Middle East in connection with the failure of the Anglo-French military venture against Egypt and the loss of their influence in this region. The theory of "the power vacuum" was invented in order to justify the attempts of the United States to fill up this "vacuum," that is to occupy the positions of its rivals and competitors in the countries of the East.

The imperialistic policy of USA in the Near and Middle East was cynically set forth by Secretary of State Dulles in a secret memorandum, presented by him to President Eisenhower. This memorandum was published on 10 March 1957 in a Berlin newspaper Neues Deutschland.

Dulles reasoned that England and France could never again become masters of the situation in this region. At the same time, Egypt and other Arab countries were beginning to understand that they themselves can decide their own affairs, and they were trying to liberate themselves from the hated trusteeship of the West. Proceeding from this, Dulles planned the course of American policy. The main problem, he declared, was the overcoming of Arab nationalism (that is the movement for freedom from the colonizers), and the filling up of the "vacuum" which formed. Dulles proposed to accomplish the overcoming of "Arab nationalism" by means of the formation in this region of aggressive military blocs. He wanted to fill up "the vacuum" with American military bases and by sending into this region American military units designated for "special purposes," on "the Formosa pattern."

In brief, Dulles' memorandum stipulated the replacement of English and French domination in the Near and Middle East by American bondage. The imperialist policy formulated by Dulles lay at the basis of the so-called "Eisenhower Doctrine."

The peoples of the Arab countries resolutely protested against this "doctrine." They well understood that American imperialism did not any more differ from Anglo-French imperialism than the yellow devil differs from the blue devil.

In striving to establish its colonial domination in the Near and Middle East instead of the English and French, the USA allotted a large place to the problem of the Suez Canal. It was striving to press upon Egypt a decision which would permit the oil monopolies of the US to become the real masters of Egypt. Exerting intensified political and economic pressure upon Egypt, they were trying to achieve "internationalization" of the canal -- the establishment of the control of US and its partners over the canal. In answer to this, the Egyptian government published, in March and April 1957, declarations on the Suez Canal question. In them it was indicated that Egypt would completely fulfill the convention of 1888, and, in accordance with instructions relating to the order of navigation, would leave charges for ship passage at the former level, and would not prevent the passage of English and French ships through the canal, if these ships would pay the charges according to the existing rules.

But the colonizers did not want to reconcile themselves to the fact that Egypt was the real owner of the canal. The British powers for a long time did not permit English ships to use the canal. The French governing circles threatened to boycott the Suez Canal. But subsequently the English and the French had to permit their ships to go through the Suez Canal on general grounds.

The trouble of the imperialists around the Suez Canal cannot deceive anyone. The people of Egypt, the Arab and peace-loving peoples of the whole world attentively watched the operations of the colonizers, with whatever "doctrines" they might cover themselves. The Egyptian people, with the support of the peace-loving peoples of other countries, will resolutely repulse any intrigues of the imperialistic enemies of the freedom, independence, happiness, and prosperity of the peoples of the Arab East.

Enemy of the Freedom of the Arab Countries

D. Danis

"The Middle East is important for the US because oil is extracted in this region."
— From a speech of John Foster Dulles to a US Senate committee, 10 May 1956.

In the middle of June 1930 in Saudi Arabia, on the shore of the Persian Gulf, in the Quatuf region, appeared a small group of Bedouins. They were dressed in robes, wore Bedouin attire; they had the typical small curly beards. But, to the great surprise of the local Arabs, not one of them could pronounce one word in Arabic. They evidently did not know the Moslem customs, and did everything to remain unnoticed. The "Bedouins" were caught. It turned out that under those Arab robes American prospectors were hiding; they had made their way to this region in search of oil.

The American businessman Kenneth Edward, who was engaged in the drilling of wells in the Arabian desert, saved the false-Bedouins from severe punishment. Having interceded for them, he was able to settle the affair. It was explained that the American prospectors had been sent to Saudi Arabia by the American Mellon oil company Gulf Oil, had already stealthily approached the Near Eastern oil through the Canadian oil company which was connected with it. The Canadian oil company had received from the English permission for the extraction of oil in the Near East.

At that time the English oil trusts were dominant in the Near East. They were the sovereign owners of Iranian oil. In their hands was 75 percent of the shares of the Turkish oil company, which was working the oil deposit in Iraq, in the Masul region. It is true, that according to the agreement signed in San Remo, 25 percent of the shares of the Turkish oil company belonged to France; however, on the whole, the concession was under control of the English. The English had an understanding with the Americans to the effect that the oil companies of the Americans would not penetrate into the Arab countries. The London Foreign Office (the Ministry of Foreign Affairs) obtained from the rulers of all the Arab countries their consent to grant concessions for prospecting and recovery of oil only to English oil companies. London did not obtain this consent from Saudi Arabia -- the British Ministry of the Colonies at that time considered this country "a desert, devoid of any interest."

The American concessionaires who had settled in Saudi Arabia persistently set to work to expand the split which had formed in the English oil monopoly in the Near and Middle East. Soon the Gulf Oil Company obtained a new concession for prospecting and recovery of oil in

the territory of Saudi Arabia. First of all, it started prospecting for oil in the province Al-Khasab on the coastline of the Persian Gulf, opposite the Bahrein Islands, which were under the protectorate of England.

At that time the English still could, without much difficulty, prevent the Gulf Oil Company from beginning the exploitation of the concession which it had obtained; this greatly troubled the Americans.

Therefore in 1933 the Americans organized the resale of their oil concession in Saudi Arabia to a more powerful firm — to the American Standard Oil of California, which paid a fabulously low sum for it — \$50,000. Subsequently, the US Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes, who headed the American Petroleum Administration during World War II, declared that "the purchase of the Arabian oil concession by Standard Oil Company of California for \$50,000 was the most inconceivable bargain of our time."

The Americans tried to represent this operation as a fortuitous bargain. Moreover they liked to tell how, when the emissary of Standard Oil returned to the board of directors of this company with the signed contract for the Arabian concession, he declared, in answer to question, "that the firm had acquired a vast mass of sand, swarm of midges and intense heat, and also vast hope," in other words, everything, other than material advantage. In reality however this was a question of the creation of an American oil monopoly in this region of the world.

Immediately after the transaction, Standard Oil of California entered into negotiations on the joint use of the concession with another powerful American oil company — Texas Oil, which at that time already possessed an extensive trade network, selling oil in India and in other countries of Asia. In 1936, the Arabian-American Oil Company — Aramco — was created. With the support of the government, the oil companies of the USA could now enter into a resolute struggle against the English oil companies which were dominant in the Near and Middle East.

The English oil companies understood, that the creation of the Arabian-American Oil Company made a very significant breach in their monopoly in the Near and Middle East. Therefore the British government protested against its formation to the United States government. However, the US State Department pretended that it did not hear anything, and the protest of the English remained "a voice in the wilderness."

The new American oil company for the exploitation of the oil resources in Saudi Arabia was created in just such an environment of bitter struggle between the English and American oil monopolies. In the words of the French specialist on Arabian oil, Benoist-Mechin, the development

of the predatory English and American oil monopolies went "through a consecutive series of crises, rivalry and conflicts, which, although they proceeded in the muffled quiet of the offices of their boards of directors or in the shadow of the offices of the ministries, but nevertheless did not cease to be bitter, dramatic and even partially bloody."

American statesmen and diplomats like to do a lot of empty talking, especially at international conferences, about private initiative, freedom of enterprise, and about the fact that there is no connection between the operations of American monopolies and American governmental policy. The US Secretary of State Dulles, at the London conference on the Suez Canal in August 1956, proposed the forcing upon Egypt of an international organ for the control of the canal, which would be "isolated from the influence of the policy of any state." However, it would be impossible to find an American monopoly which is not connected with the government of the United States of America.

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As far back as in the beginning of the second world war, the Chairman of a US Senate Committee of USA (subsequently the President of US), Harry Truman, wrote in his report to the Senate, that "the government must render to the oil companies, operating beyond the limits of the United States, full diplomatic support and protection." As concerns the activity of the Arabian-American Oil Company, the American Secretary of the Interior Ickes declared in plain terms: "Saudi oil belongs to us, because it is a raw material, necessary for the life of the US and its independence." At that time Aramco felt the great pressure of the English oil monopolies, which still could create at that time serious difficulties for their American competitors.

At the climax of the second world war the Anglo-American struggle for oil in the Near and Middle East flared up with new bitterness. In the American press appeared numerous assertions concerning the fact that US oil reserves were running catastrophically low. A noisy campaign was raised for the expansion of output of oil outside the United States. Reflecting the interests of the oil monopolies, Secretary of the Navy Knox declared: "We must follow a policy of severe limitation of the use of American oil. Namely, this will be the first sign of the conception of the present foreign policy of our country. Great Britain has been following such a policy for many years, and we must decide on the declaration of such an oil policy, which would be approved by all." Under the "all" evidently was meant the American oil monopolies. Having thus prepared the appropriate groundwork, the US government created, in June 1943, the Petroleum Reserve Corporation. Concerning the purposes of this corporation, the very same Ickes quite clearly said that it was created "in view of the fact that private capital is not in a position

fully to establish and support the national positions in this field, governmental aid and participation may be necessary. The Petroleum Reserve Corporation will serve these purposes, when the necessity will arise."

To the Near and Middle East was sent an American engineering mission on oil problems. On 1 February 1944 it presented a report to the President and directors of the Petroleum Reserve Corporation. The commission indicated in this report that "the center of gravity of the world oil production was moving from the region of the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea to the Middle East, to the region of the Persian Gulf." In a special article, "Our Oil Resources are Running Low," Ickes wrote that "the capital of the oil empire is rushing to the Middle East, to the Persian Gulf and the countries adjacent to it, such as Arabia, Iraq, Iran, Kuwait, Bahrein and, perhaps, even Afghanistan. And it cannot be said that it is moving on a camel." Very likely, it could not be put more clearly than Mr. Ickes put it.

Soon afterwards the information was published that the governmental Petroleum Reserve Corporation had joined efforts with Aramco and the Gulf Exploration Company in Kuwait for rendering aid to these private American firms. The special agreement between the government of the US and the private companies mentioned an intention to construct an oil pipeline from the oil deposits of Aramco on the shore of the Persian Gulf to the shores of the Mediterranean Sea.

The sensation in the American press and the subsequent measures of the US government indicated the resolute intention of the American oil monopolies and the government to settle more and more in the Near and Middle East, to free its oil firms from dependence upon the English and their operations in the field of extraction and transport of oil. The Americans displayed a more and more undisguised intention to force out the English from the countries of the Near and Middle East.

The correlation of forces between the English and American monopolies in the Near and Middle East by this time was determined by the following figures. There was extracted a total of 16.3 million tons of oil in 1943 in the countries of this region, not counting Iran. Of the total, the share of the American companies in Saudi Arabia, on the Bahrein Islands and in Iraq was 1.6 million tons, that is less than 10 percent. At that time, according to the data of the American magazine Fortune, England controlled in the Middle East about 60 percent of the oil reserves checked, and English oil-refining plants processed about 80 percent of the recovered oil. The US controlled only 33 percent of all the oil reserves, and in its plants was processed only 20 percent of the oil. The weakness of the position of the US at that time became still more obvious if it is taken into account that the output of oil

in the Near and Middle East at that time was only 5.2 percent of the total world output of oil, which reached approximately 313 million tons per year. During the 10 years before this the share of US was less than .3 percent of the oil recovered in the Near and Middle East.

Intensifying the war between "the oil of the dollar" and "the oil of the sterling," the United States of America achieved a quick advancement of the American oil monopolies, the seizure by them of the oil resources of the Middle and Near East, the definitive ousting of English capital from the area. The representative of Standard Oil of California, Colliers, declared that "Arab oil is destined to play an important role in international affairs not only in order to satisfy military needs, but also as a source of supply in the event of a possible crisis in USA."

Making use of the weakening of the positions of England during the second world war, the American oil monopolies, actively supported by the government, rushed into battle against the English monopolies, having begun in the literal sense of the word to ram the English oil positions in the Near and Middle East. Already in August 1944 an agreement was reached between the US and England which essentially pressed the hitherto monopoly positions of England in the field of recovery of oil in the Near and Middle East. Especially stipulated was "the principle of equal opportunities" in respect to the prospecting and working of the oil resources, construction, and exploitation of oil-refining plants, and the distribution of oil.

Scarcely had the American oil monopolies extorted from the English "equal" opportunities in the field of acquisition of new concessions, when in January 1945 this Anglo-American agreement was revised. The new, amended agreement which was signed reflected the fact that now it was not the English who were limiting the Americans, but, on the contrary, the Americans who were limiting the English.

Having obtained a free hand — "equal opportunities" in the Near and Middle East — the Americans immediately set about the most extensive use of these opportunities.

In February 1945 an understanding was reached concerning the expansion of the territory of Aramco's concession in Saudi Arabia to 4,400 square miles and the extension of its term to the year 2005.

Where there is oil, there are also military bases.

After the concession treaty on oil, there followed an agreement concerning the construction and use by the Americans of an air base in Al-Khasab. As is known, the US selected as a place for this construction the triangle Dhahran--Al-Khobar--Al'Aziziya, farther to the south

than Dammam, on the shore of the Persian Gulf. In March 1945 the construction of this air base in Dhahran was started. The construction was completed in 1946. In the Near East arose one of the largest American airfields of world importance.

The expansion of the scales of operations of Aramco occurred not only in a fierce struggle with the English, but also in conditions of sharp, competitive rivalry among the American oil monopolies. This struggle led to a redistribution of the share of participation of separate detachments of monopolistic capital of the US. As a result Standard Oil of New Jersey, Standard Oil of California and Texas Oil retained 30 percent of the shares of Aramco. Socony Vacuum obtained 10 percent of the shares.

Having secured for itself, with the aid of the American government, the concession for so immense a territory, embracing almost all of Saudi Arabia with the exception of a narrow zone which passes along the coastline of the Red Sea — the territory of the whole concession is equal to one-sixth the territory of USA — Aramco soon discovered four of the richest deposits of oil: in Dammam, in Abqaiq, situated farther southwest than Dammam, in Qatif, at the cape of Ras at Tammura, and in Ain Dar. The oil fields in these regions are connected with the port in Ras at Tammura by a four-line oil pipeline of a total length of 155 kilometers.

The output of oil in the oilfields of Aramco sharply increased, and in 1947 exceeded 12 million tons. The share of the US in the output of oil in the entire Near and Middle East reached 37 percent (15.6 million tons) in 1947.

The accurate geological prospecting carried out by the Americans indicated that in Saudi Arabia was located one of the richest oil deposits in the world.

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The English sounded the alarm: the breach, made by the Americans in the English oil monopoly, began to assume catastrophic dimensions; it threatened to liquidate completely English oil domination in this region. Between England and USA a serious economic conflict was becoming imminent. "In prospect is a serious, muddled affair," wrote the well-known French economist Visson. "The sharks will set about eating each other without delay."

At that time in the opposition, Churchill attacked the Labor government in the House of Commons, trying to persuade the people that the government was pursuing a policy of "renunciation" of its interests in the field of oil in favor of the US.

Observing the strengthening by the American monopolies of USA, of their positions in Saudi Arabia, the English journalist I. Kimkiegh wrote that the issue is the striving of the US to oust the English from Palestine and regions of the Persian Gulf. "There is no doubt," he wrote, "that in some place of the Middle East without delay will be constructed a powerful American base." The English journalist was mistaken. At the time his lines were being written, the American air base was already in existence in Dhahran.

The matter did not go as far as a sharp economic conflict between US and England, although everyone had expected the conflict. Having bound itself by a policy of participation, together with the United States, in "the cold war," England was not in a position to offer the necessary resistance against the Americans. Under the pressure of the Americans, the English government made the usual concessions.

American capital investments in oil in the Near and Middle East began to increase rapidly; the English share in the output of oil in the Eastern Hemisphere went down. In the countries of the Near and Middle East by 1949 it fell to 52.4 percent.

Having consolidated their positions, the American oil companies developed feverish activity. There were built powerful oil-refining plants in Abqaiq, Dammam, and on the Bahrein Islands. The largest of the oil-refining plants of Aramco, capable of processing up to 18,000 tons of oil per day, was constructed in the region of the port of Ras at Tannura.

The share of American monopolies in the exploitation of the natural resources of the Near and Middle East sharply increased. In 1951 the US share of the oil in the Near and Middle East was 52.8 million tons (54.9 percent) of the total 96.2 million tons, and in 1955 of the total 149 million tons, the share of US was 93 million tons (62.4 percent) of the oil.

The cheap labor of the Arab workers, the starvation wages which Aramco paid them, permitted the oil magnates of the US to make fabulous profits. In 1955 Aramco received 540 million dollars profit from the sale of crude oil.

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Dhahran. The capitol of the Saudi oil region was seized by the grasping oil monopolies of the US. Formerly there was a settlement here, a small oasis, unknown to anyone, lost in the sands. In 1935 there were only 7,000 inhabitants in it. Now this is a large city, which in 1953 held about 69,000 inhabitants. In the city there are good homes, movie

theatres, gardens, stadiums, swimming pools. But they are all located in the European part, called New Star. No Arab may pass through here. The Arabs are cooped up in another section of the city -- in the so-called Saudi Kart'ye.

The Americans built New Star for themselves. In the words of James de Cook, who visited Dhahran in 1951, there are in it "oleanders and other trees imported in boxes, grass lawns imported in carts. Everything in it is imported from USA. Products, starting with beer and meat, and ending with fresh lettuce, are supplied by the Americans. The American employees of Aramco live in Dhahran in the very same conditions of comfort as at home in the US. The American way of life is delivered here every week on planes or ships in the form of canned foods, vitamins, phonograph records, movie films and magazines."

The Americans and other foreign specialists receive high salaries, and each employee costs the company 3,000 dollars before he begins to work in his post.

Saudi Kart'ye is the Arab section of the city. Here there are no cottages and modern homes with gardens and flower beds. In the standard wooden barracks are cooped up from 30-50 persons; they are workers who receive only 90 cents per day. The land, saturated with oil, is devoid of any vegetation. In order to see any verdure or to buy vegetables, the inhabitants of Saudi Kart'ye have to go to Al Khobar, located 10 kilometers from Dhahran.

But the company does not provide all Arab workers with even such wretched, barrack-type quarters.

As regards local workers -- Arabs, Aramco carries out a regime of cruel discrimination. It tries to substitute for workers' unions special committees of "protection" of the rights of the workers in cases of conflict with the administration.

Stirred up by the difficult labor conditions, the scanty earnings, the unbearable housing conditions, the Arab workers at the beginning of 1956 directed to the government of Saudi Arabia a petition, in which they described their cruel treatment at the hands of the company, and demanded an increase in wages to the level of the foreign workers, improvement of the housing conditions, and the right to organize trade unions. However Aramco sabotaged the work of the committee appointed for analysis of the conflict. In answer to the fully legal complaint, the company began to discharge workers whom it found objectionable. The company especially raged after a strike and peaceful demonstration was carried out by the workers in January 1956 in the oilfields of Dhahran, Ras at Tammura and Abqaiq. More than 10,000 workers participated in the demonstrations with slogans "Down with American Imperialism!" "Down With the Colonizers!"

According to information of the Lebanese newspaper Al-Akhbar, in Dammain on 13 June 1956 10 workers were arrested and thrown into prison. They were subjected to savage outrages and unmerciful beatings and tortures, four of those arrested died, including a 17-year-old youth. The following day 58 more workers were arrested.

The American exploiters converted Aramco into a sovereign state in the sovereign state of Saudi Arabia. They crudely violated the most fundamental rights of the local workers, subjecting the Arab patriots to every kind of oppression and persecution, throwing into prison persons whom Aramco found objectionable. The Syrian newspaper An-Nidal with anger and indignation declared that in Dhahran "the American gentlemen look upon the local workers as slaves and bondsmen."

In 1951, 22,395 workers were working at enterprises of Aramco. Among this total number of workers were 13,786 Saudi Arabians, 3,230 Americans, 1,101 Italians, 940 Palestinians, 933 Indians, and 2,405 other Eastern nationalities -- such as the Adenese and Sudanese and others.

In 1955 the number of workers and employees of the company was 21,073 persons. The Americans constituted 14.7 percent of them.

Aramco received huge profits from the output of oil in Saudi Arabia. However it spent only very little money for the creation of good labor conditions, improvement of housing and sanitary conditions of the workers, for the planning and organization of public services in the cities. It is true that Aramco invested funds in the construction of electric power stations, repair shops, shipyards. The total capital investments of Aramco in this country reached 1.8 billion dollars. But all these enterprises were intended for the squeezing out of profits, for inhuman exploitation of new tens of thousands of local Arab workers.

The company built schools with three-year training for the young people of 8 to 18 years of age. But these schools embraced an extremely limited number of the young people, from whom the schools were training the labor force, trained to use modern equipment at the enterprises of the company.

Aramco built medical points. But at these medical points are treated only such widespread diseases as trachoma, skin ulcers, malaria, and the like. Even such an admirer of the existing order in Saudi Arabia, as Gerald de Gori, very cautiously declared that "it is still too early to say what the final effect of all these measures will be upon the population." And indeed Aramco has been ruling in Saudi Arabia since 1937.

The directors of the company do not conceal the purpose of all their "measures." The Deputy Chairman of the Board of Directors of Aramco, Floyd Oliger cynically declared that "the object, which we are pursuing, is the creation of a middle class of Arabs, selected from persons capable of fulfilling all kinds of work." These outspoken colonialistic intentions were still more definitely and cynically expressed by the general director of the company, James McPherson. He declared: "We are convinced that in helping the Arabs to help themselves, we in the long run are helping ourselves."

Such is the predatory person of Aramco, such is its colonizer role in the country upon whose resources, upon the labor of tens of thousands of its best sons, Aramco was conceived, grew up, and became strong. This company is one of the champions of that colonial yoke, which, as the newspaper Al-Akhbar angrily wrote in June 1954, "at times it becomes weak, at times it becomes stronger, but it always exists and its presence is the source of all misfortunes. This is the reason that the main purpose of the Arab peoples must be the liberation from the imperialists."

* * *

The American oil monopolies fear most of all the striving of the countries of the Near and Middle East for national independence, for the utilization of their richest resources for the good of their own national economy, for the liquidation of the domination of foreign capital in them.

Therefore the monopolistic circles of the US, England, France, carrying on among themselves a sharp competitive struggle, at the same time are blocked in the preparation of new maneuvers, directed toward the enslavement of the countries of the Near and Middle East. They maintain the aggressive military groups which they created for this region of the world, as for example the notorious Bagdad pact. It is known that the US actually stimulated the aggression of England, France, and Israel against Egypt, undertaken as an act of revenge in answer to the completely legal nationalization by Egypt of the former Suez Canal Company, the nationalization whose legality even the US had to recognize. And only when this aggression had shamefully failed, first of all as a result of the firm position of the Soviet Union, which had warned the aggressors, the US pretended that it was also against this attack upon Egypt.

Putting on a mask and pretending to be a friend of the people of Egypt and other Arab countries, the US at the same time was making plans of military penetration into these countries by means of the so-called "police forces of the UN." This consisted, in particular, in the occupation by these forces of the Gaza region, and of attempts to deprive Egypt of the legal right to establish its own administration in the Gaza region after the removal of the Israeli armed forces from it.

Helping England, France, and Israel in their attempts to use and consolidate the results of their aggression against Egypt, the US did this not in order to strengthen the position of these countries, but in order subsequently to take their place, to try to subject the entire Near and Middle East to its own domination.

The well-known American document, which became the property of world public opinion in March 1957, when it was published in the Berlin newspaper Neues Deutschland, indicates this very clearly. This was a secret memorandum, drawn up for President Eisenhower by US Secretary of State Dulles. With cynical frankness, the imperialistic program of the United States in respect to the entire Near and Middle East is set forth.

In this document the oil companies, for whose interest Dulles was the mouthpiece, had to recognize the irrepressible striving of the Arab countries for national independence. The defeat of England and France in Egypt, having buried their prestige in Asia and Africa, it was said in the memorandum, led to a strengthening of Arab "nationalism," that is of the national-liberation movement. The active support which was rendered and is being rendered to the countries of the Arab East by the Soviet Union, furthered the national-liberation movement, as the *Chargé d'Affaires* of US monopolistic capital had to admit, not concealing his anxiety. All this, he continued, created "a completely new situation" in the Near East.

What way out did the director of US foreign policy offer? Was it not a renunciation of the imperialistic pretensions of the USA, England and France in this region? Was the recognition real, and not just a formal recognition of the sovereign right of the countries of the East to their national independence and sovereign state independence? Was it a recognition of the inalienable right of these countries to use their own natural resources for their own good without the exploitation and plundering of them by foreign monopolistic capital?

No, not at all! Indeed such a program would mean the repudiation of the very essence of the imperialistic policy of the US. And Dulles was in the service of the imperialistic monopolies of American capital.

Dulles and the oil monopolies of the US behind him were afraid that "Egypt and the other Arab states were beginning to understand that they themselves can decide their own affairs" and that these countries "were trying to liberate themselves from the trusteeship of the West," which they hated. Dulles was frightened by the fact that "if events would develop in that direction, then the Arab East would soon be converted into something similar to India, and that the Western powers would then have to build their relations with the Arab countries on completely new bases," that is on principles of respect of their sovereignty, of the will of their people.

The imperialistic colonizer program, an attempt to avert this misfortune for the American oil monopolies, was introduced in the memorandum.

One of the requirements, advanced in the memorandum was to overcome the strengthening of Arab "nationalism." To fill up the "vacuum" which was formed, that is the void, which was created in the Arab East after the downfall of the imperialistic positions of England and France. In other words, to seize these positions, to use them in the interests of the US. For this purpose it is necessary, the memorandum said, to strengthen the military positions of the US in the Near East. To expand the program of the creation of air bases, to place in certain places American military forces equipped with atomic weapons, to achieve the consciousness of "an African military pact."

This frankly imperialistic anti-Arab program of foreign policy of the United States formed the basis of the "Eisenhower Doctrine," which was proclaimed 5 January 1957. This "doctrine," which was approved by Congress, permitted the government of US "in case of necessity" to send American armed forces to the region of the Near and Middle East. As an enticement for these countries, there was stipulated economic "aid" in the amount of up to 200 million dollars. The purpose of this "aid," as is known, is frankly described in the secret letter of Nelson Rockefeller to the President of the US. In the letter, it is said directly that "the development of economic relations with these countries (of the Near East - D. Danis) must ultimately give us the opportunity to take into our own hands the key positions in the economy of these countries" in order that "these countries themselves come to the conclusion concerning the necessity of joining the military pacts and alliances created by us."

The American oil companies can permit the government to spend for economic "aid" to the countries of the Near and Middle East 200 million dollars: indeed they receive huge profits from the oil recovered in these countries.

According to the admission of the American newspapers, the profits of the oil companies of the US were 3,914 million dollars in 1955.

In order to conceal, to mask more easily the colonizer purposes of "the Eisenhower Doctrine," directed to the enslavement and enthrallment of the peoples of the East and the consolidation there of American domination through the armed forces of the US, the government of the United States announced its decision to participate in the military committee of the Bagdad pact.

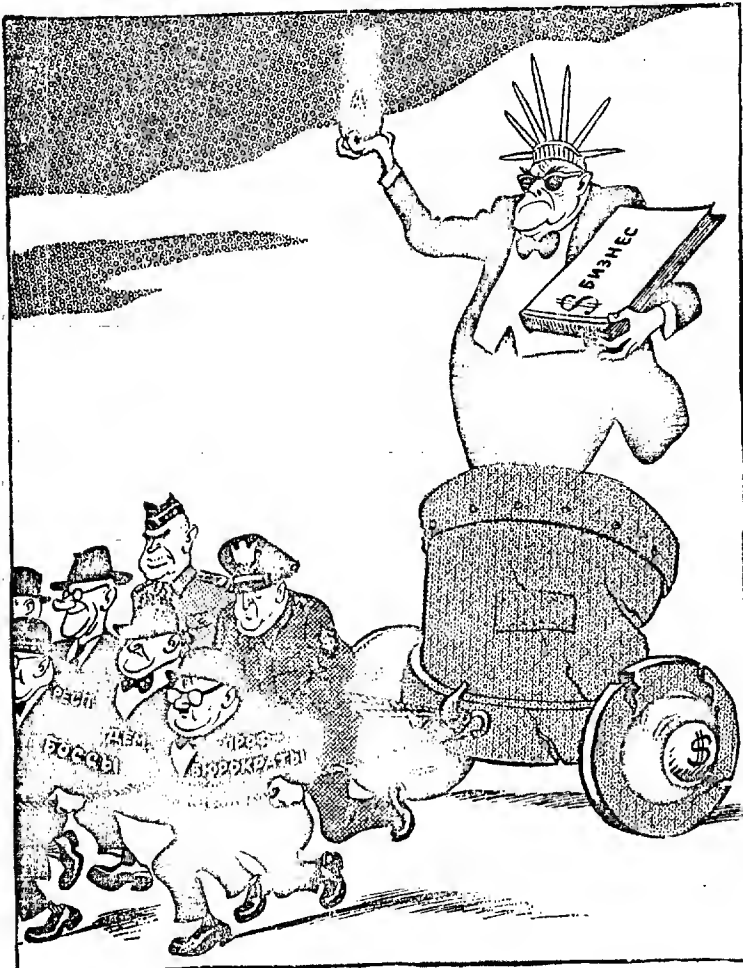
This did not to any essential degree change the situation, inasmuch as the US was the initiator of the creation of the Bagdad pact, and participated in two of its committees, including the economic.

The peoples of the Arab countries, who had repulsed, with the aid of other peace-loving peoples, the Anglo-Franco-Israeli aggression against Egypt, resolutely opposed "the Eisenhower Doctrine," the attempts of the American oil monopolies to dominate in the Near and Middle East, to perpetuate the predatory pillaging of the natural resources of this region and to preserve in a "new" look the colonial system of imperialism, hated by the people.

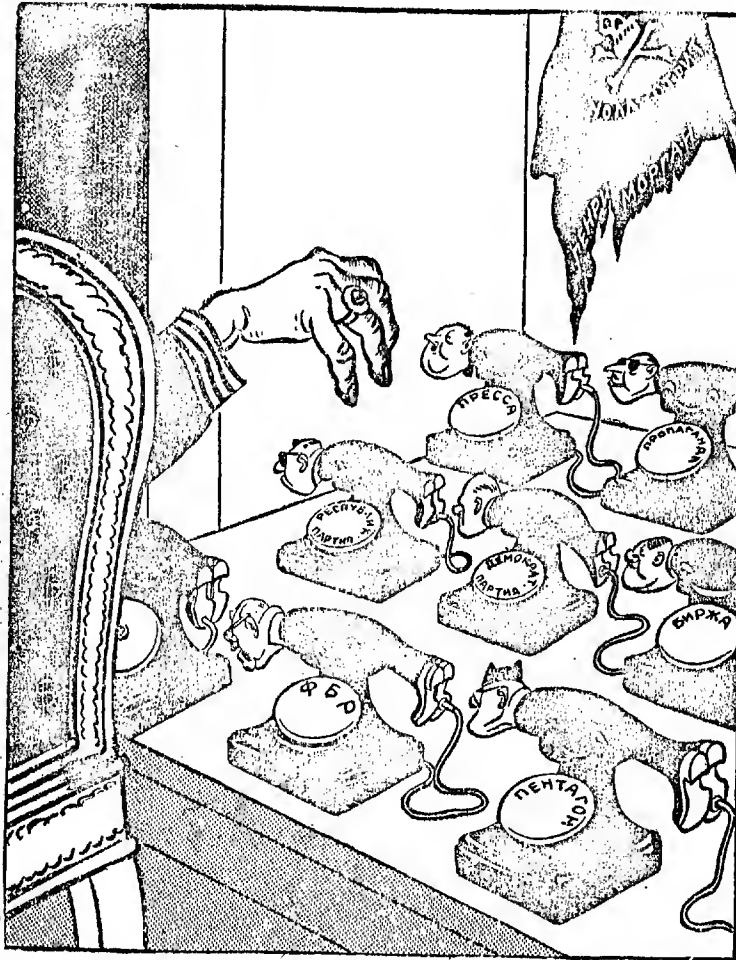
But this system disintegrated under the powerful blows of the peoples, who in a stubborn struggle against the colonizers threw off the yoke of enslavement, achieved their national liberation, national sovereignty. The peoples of the East learned to recognize all the contrivances of the monopolists and the ruling circles of the imperialistic powers, trying again to place upon them the yoke of colonialism, in whatever appearance, in the guise of whatever "doctrines" these attempts might be undertaken. The peoples of the East understood that, as the Prime Minister of Syria Saud Al-Gazi in May 1956 said, "the best way for the Arab countries is the way of independence."

* * *

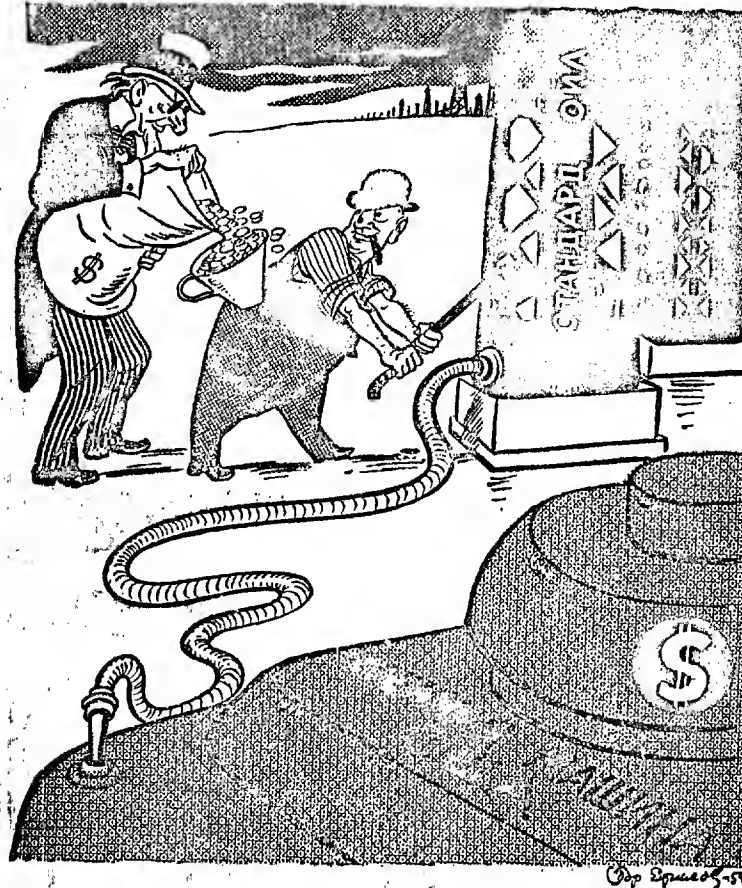
APPENDIX



Here they honor (which is nothing basically new!)
The Old Testament calf --
And in the manner of the "Golden Calf"
They have erected a statue of the businessman.
He is a symbol of business. No matter
Whatever he chants about doctrines,
This prophet of the "clean bomb,"
He is the personification of dirty dealings.



In the nation of the "money bags"
The banker's hand governs:
State organs notwithstanding,
Power belongs to the DuPonts and the Morgans.



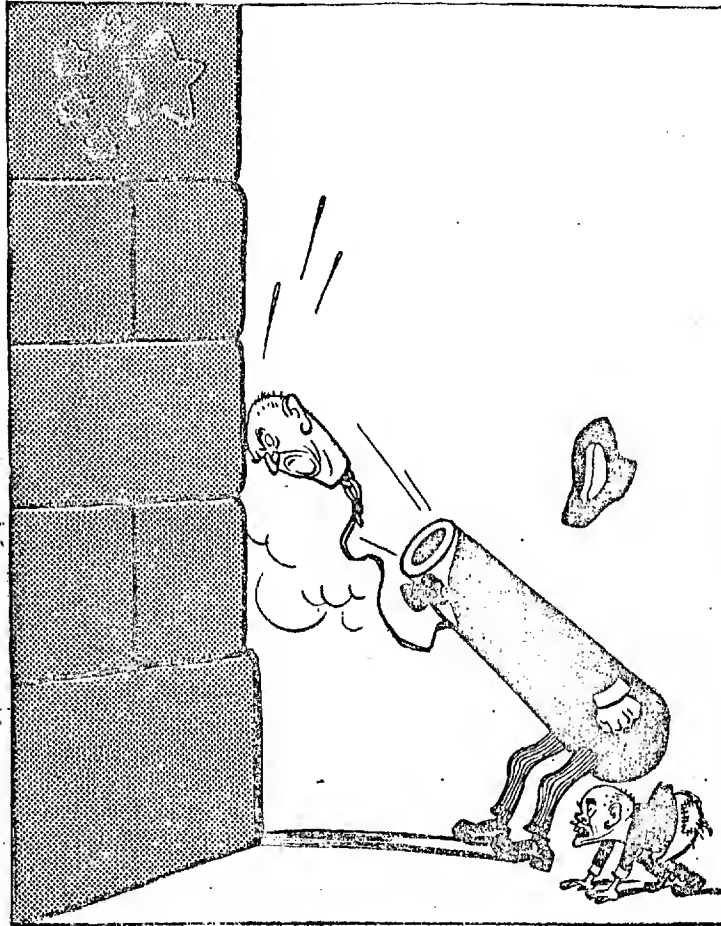
He drew the petroleum out of foreign nations,
Or to put it differently: in robbing nations,
He pumped their riches
Into his own spacious pockets.



Trader in death, he does not ask
Upon which of his neighbors, into whose country
His boss drops the bomb.
He manages to convert to pure profit
Any income from dirty deals.



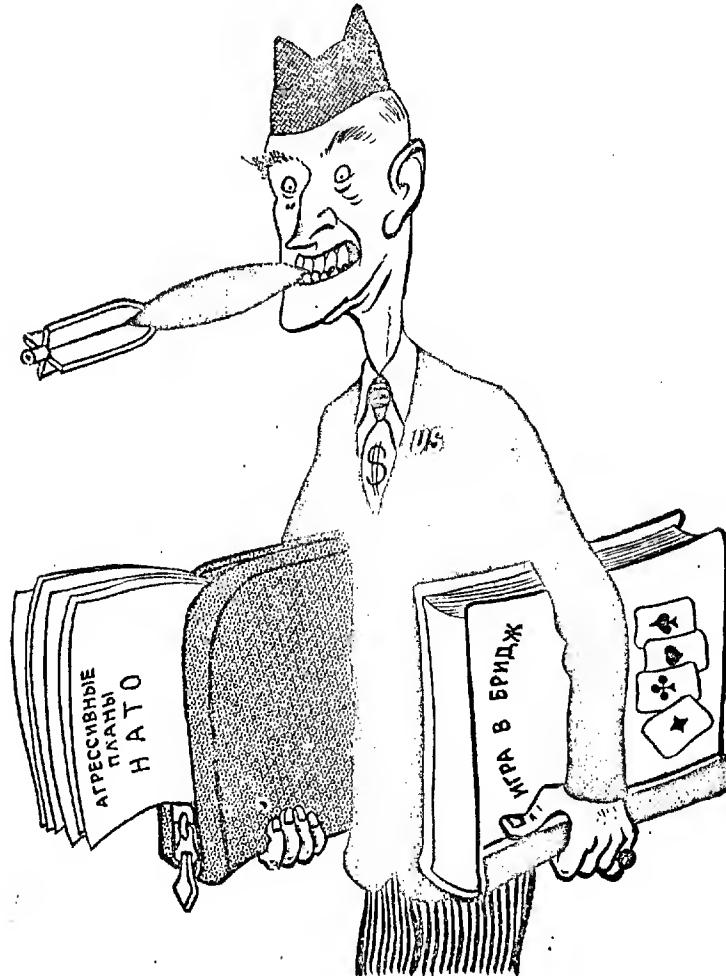
He, always extremely hard up
For conspiracies and secrets,
Changes his make-up with every hour.
A rather poor masquerade...
We know, thou, thy brother we do,
We know, consequently, thou also.



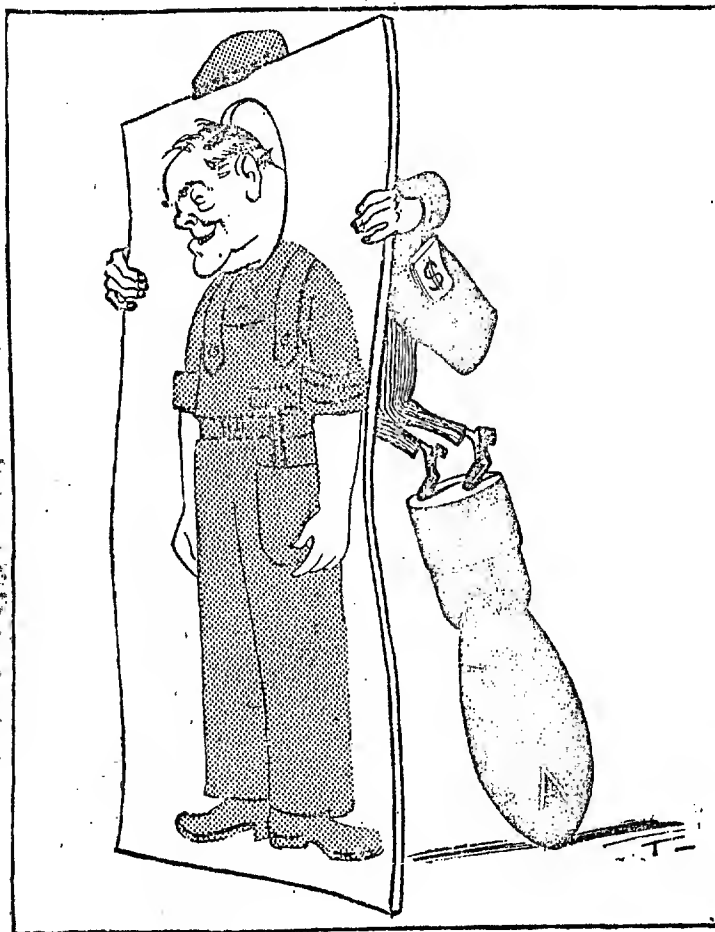
There he is -- the atomic warrior,
"Boss" of the fighters for profit,
Patron of the Chiang Kai-shekists
Mister Chiang Kai Knowland-shek!...



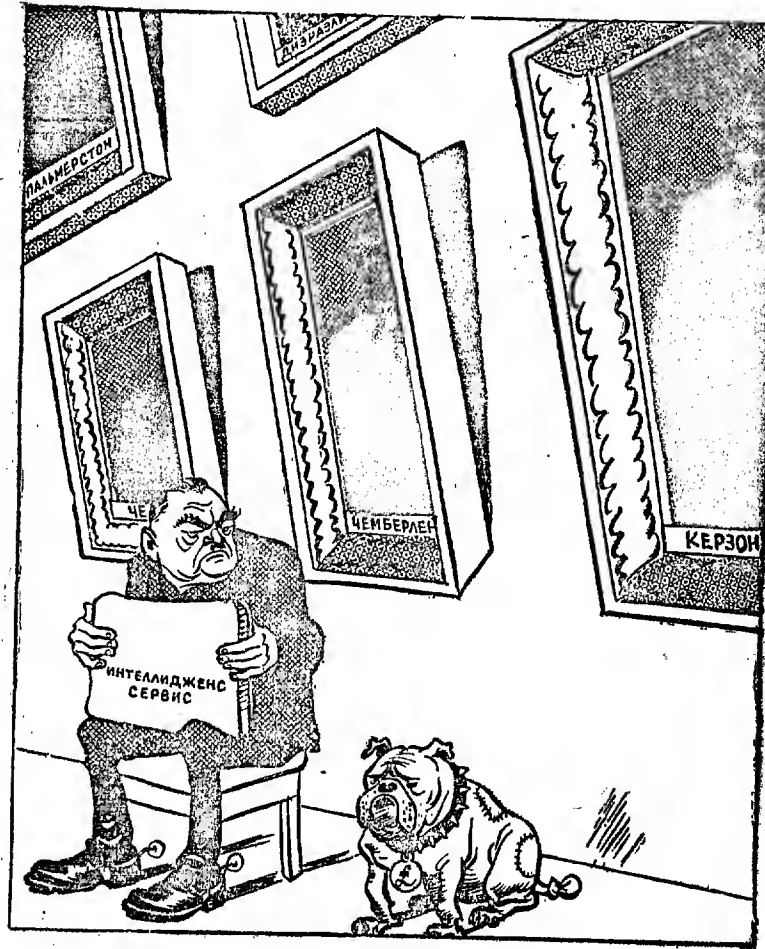
He honors the denunciation. He believes: in investigation
there is strength, and that
Truth is worth nothing!
The shadow of Himmler has adopted him
And with a lifeless "Heil!" greets him.



Slick gambler, pert sergeant,
Our talkative foe
Gruenther wishes to frighten us,
Threatening with "A" and "H" bombs.
He has a little too much aplomb!
He ought to be able to guess
That the atomic bomb
Can fly to any address.



He has not expended his ardour in vain:
He "defended" the workers in such a way
That he was thanked
By...Hoover and the others!



He is proud, scornful and strict,
Stricter as he gets older.
He remembers India at the feet of the
"Mistress of the Seas,"
He is dragging behind the times,
He has a reason for being gloomy:
Now the people are not the same in India
Nor is England the same!



Serving the republic, as formerly
He served Fascism -- with the same enthusiasm!
If he were not hiding the swastika, he would be
The same Fascist with dreams of revenge.



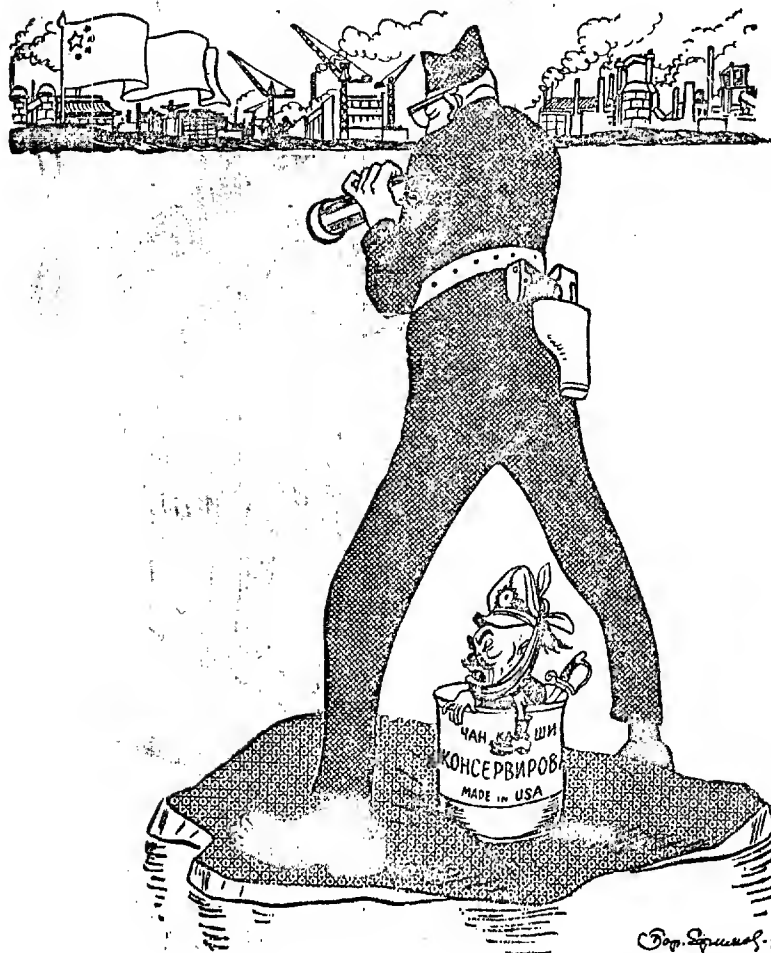
When Hans was on trial
He saw no chance of staying alive.
But the Fascist was lucky.
Hans wondered: "Will they send me up or will they...?"
Look, they really did send him up
Into the staff, in front of the maps, at Fontainebleau.
Once he was an enemy of the Allies;
Now he is their "friend" in NATO.



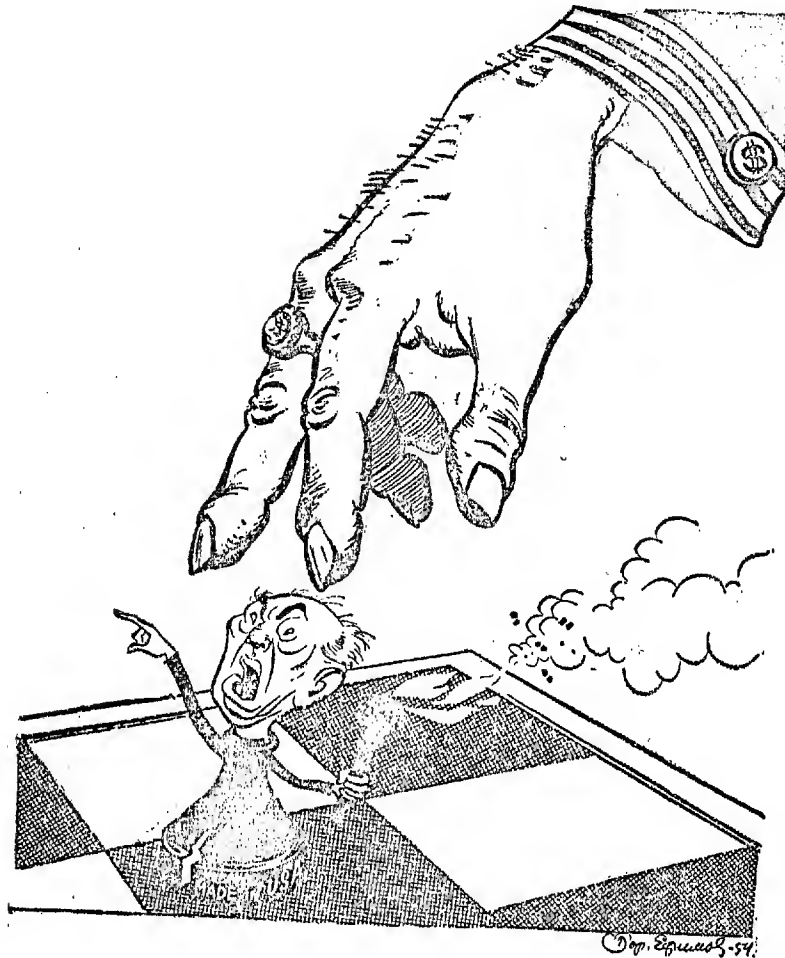
Trading the resources of France en route,
A traveler over all kinds of distances,
He sells cognac, French ore
And...the interests of France!



He (do not judge him by a preconceived notion) is a Socialist...in his own manner: the Socialist-Stockholder who found his ideal in NATO.



They, with coquetish pose, call Taiwan "their Formosa."
But whether the island is called Formosa or Taiwan,
they still must inevitably leave. And thus the
histories of the road away from the island will not
be changed whatever its name might be.



He is nothing. But in one way or another
He howls hysterically
Louder than all the puppets
Made in America.

* * *

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